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A PLAN

FOR

Extending the COMMERCE

OF

THIS KINGDOM,

AND OF

THE EAST-INDIA-COMPANY.

BY

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE, Esq;

" The net Remains of Revenue, together with the Produce " of the Company's Consignments to INDIA, and the Money " which may be paid into their Treasuries there for Bills on " the Court of Directors, will together form a Sum *far ex-* " *ceeding* the *Amount* of their Investments *every where.*"

Report of the Court of Directors on Mr. Sullivan's *Propositions, 2d April* 1767.

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G.R. III.
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PREFACE.

I Have already laid before the Publick, a Narrative of what has paſs'd on this ſubject between the India Directors and me: One motive for publiſhing that Narrative, was, that it might be in the power of any one to communicate to me what objections might occur againſt this publication; but as no objection has been made, either directly or indirectly, from the General Court; I muſt conclude, that there is no objection to my publiſhing any thing I think proper

proper on the ſubject, and that there can be no room to conſider it as the moſt diſtant attack upon the Company.

The *Plan* I here preſent to the *Publick* for extending the *Commerce* and *Dominion* of *this Kingdom*; is founded on *principles* of *juſtice* and *benevolence*, and will equally conduce to the *welfare* of *mankind*, and of this *particular country*.

The places deſcribed in the following work are, I will be bold to ſay, an *important acceſſion* to the Britiſh Empire; and I can with *pride* affirm, *they* were *obtained* without *fraud* or *violence*.

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE.

A

PLAN

FOR

Extending the COMMERCE of this Kingdom, and of the Eaſt-India Company.

ALTHOUGH the Eaſt-India Company's charter gives them the excluſive trade to all parts of the Eaſt Indies, the Engliſh have at preſent no eſtabliſhment to the eaſtward of Sumatra, and ſcarce any intercourſe or commerce in that quarter, but at Canton in China.

The Eaſt-India Company have, at different times, made ſeveral ineffectual attempts to renew the intercourſe in the Eaſtern iſlands: but, perhaps, it is the moſt difficult of all undertakings to carry into ex-

ecution; as it requires great perſeverance, and very conſiderable ability of a particular kind. The attempts which have hitherto been made have ſcarce had a ſettled plan, and were only with a view to obtain a knowledge on which a more conſiderable and well regulated effort might be grounded: but, by one accident or other, the public are ſcarce the wiſer for the attempts already made. There is, indeed, no room to wonder at this, as ſuch undertakings have generally been under the management of men ſent on the duty without an inclination to perform it. It muſt be obvious the obſervations of ſuch men can be of very little uſe to poſterity.

I ſhall here make the public a preſent, which, I flatter myſelf, may ſome time or other be found uſeful. Whether I or another ſhall be employed in the attempt, the communication of even a ſmall part of that knowledge which the experience of many years has beſtowed upon me, muſt be highly acceptable to the public; and if it only gives a ſatisfaction to thoſe who wiſh to be informed, I ſhall not think my labour loſt.

Although

Although the extenſion of the Eaſt-India Company's trade, by opening an intercourſe with the eaſtern parts of India, has always been a favourite object of every wiſe adminiſtration, there never was a time when, from the ſituation of the Company's affairs, this matter was of ſuch importance as at preſent.

Not the leaſt urgent motive in behalf of an immediate eſtabliſhment to the eaſtward, is the difficulty of remitting home the Bengal revenue, without ruining the country: But if the productions and manufactures of Bengal can be carried to ſome port to the eaſtward, and diſpoſed of for goods fit for the China market; then the exportation of money from Bengal will, at leaſt in part, be avoided, and the returns thither from the eaſtward, adequate to the firſt coſt of the Bengal exports, will occaſion a conſtant circulation without impoveriſhment.

The goods provided in India for the Company are called the inveſtment. In making this inveſtment, the Company are obliged to receive many aſſortments unfit for the European markets: theſe are reſold in Bengal at low rates. As the inveſtment is

extended, the quantity of improper aſſortments muſt be increaſed; at the ſame time, finding a vent for ſuch aſſortments will greatly facilitate the extenſion of the inveſtment. How great an object this is, may be conceived from the amount of the Dutch inveſtment in Bengal for the eaſtern markets, which is above twenty lacks of rupees (*L.* 250,000) every year.

This matter is not confined to Bengal: it relates to other parts of India alſo. In 1763 the Dutch inveſtment on the Choromandel coaſt, in coloured goods for the eaſtern markets, at Pulicat only, amounted to above 130,000 pagodas (*L.* 50,000).

To explain the conſequence of ſuch a port to the eaſtward, requires ſome elucidation of the manner of making the inveſtment in India.

The company contract with certain perſons for goods to be delivered, according to ſample, of certain lengths and breadths, at a ſtated price: an advance of money is then made to the perſon who is to provide the goods.

Theſe goods, when manufactured, are brought into the Company's warehouſes; and

and ſuch as are inferior in quality, or deficient in meaſure, are either rejected, or received at an abatement.

If rejected, the perſon who provided them can afford to ſell them at a low price, as he has had the uſe of the Company's money, which was advanced for the proviſion of them: the conſequence is, that his intereſt muſt lie in debaſing the manufactures, ſo long as he has a vent for the manufactures ſo debaſed. The eaſtern markets, having no ſtandard meaſure, do not conſider a ſmall deficiency in length or breadth, as an objection; and therefore the Dutch can afford to give as good a price for ſuch goods as for thoſe of full meaſure. But if the Engliſh Company had a market where they could diſpoſe of ſuch goods, inſtead of turning them out, which is an advantage to the perſon who provides them, the Company would receive them at an abatement, which muſt always be to his loſs. Thus alſo the quality of the inveſtment would be improved; which, from want of ſuch a check, has been gradually depraved for many years paſt: at the ſame time that the Company would be enabled to extend it greatly.

In almoſt all the eaſtern parts, ophium is conſidered as a neceſſary of life: the quantity of the beſt ophium annually made in Bengal, is about 2000 cheſts; of this the Company may, without difficulty, make an inveſtment of 1000 cheſts per annum *, which may be rated, when arrived at the eaſtern port, under 200 dollars per cheſt.

The Dutch deliver their *adulterated* ophium to the Ophium Company at Batavia, at 400 dollars per cheſt. It is then diſtributed by this company over all the eaſtern iſlands, and ſold at high rates.

The Engliſh Company, by ſelling the 1000 cheſts of ophium, at 400 dollars per cheſt, muſt immediately draw the commerce of the eaſtern iſlands to their *port*; at the ſame time that they make a clear gain of 200,000 dollars (*L.* 50,000) per annum, on this one article, and keep down the Bengal price, by leſſening the profits of their competitors.

There is not a man in this kingdom ſo ignorant as not to know, that the greateſt

* I am indebted for what is ſaid of the ophium inveſtment to Mr. Gregory, whoſe knowledge of the Bengal affairs is univerſally allowed.

of

of all national objects is, *To extend the conſumption of our woollen manufactures.* But the conſequence of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, towards effecting this important matter, may not be ſo immediately obvious.

The demand of woollens thro' the whole Chineſe empire is very great, but the charges, accumulating by frequent removal from Canton to the remote parts, are ſo enormous, that the diffuſive ſale is greatly impeded: When the country merchants, who come to Canton from the tea-country, return home with a ſuit of Engliſh cloth, they are looked on as ſuperbly dreſſed; but at preſent the conſumption, amounting to about 60,000 l. per annum, prime coſt, is almoſt entirely confined to the province of Canton, and that next adjoining.

In the northern and colder provinces particularly the demand is greateſt; but theſe being the moſt remote from Canton, where all the foreign trade is carried on, the vent is in a manner ſtopt, particularly as the Canton merchants do not conſider the increaſed conſumption as an object of their attention, ſince the gain muſt, in that caſe,

chiefly be acquired by the *carriers* to the other markets.

But if we have an eſtabliſhment in the eaſtern iſlands, to which the junks reſort from the eaſtern and northen provinces of China, they will carry back very large quantities of woollens †.

A ſhare of the ſpice-trade has been ever conſidered as a matter of great importance to the honour and welfare of this country: A ſmall parcel of cinnamon which I procured at Sooloo, where and on the northern parts of Borneo it grows ſpontaneous, yielded at the Company's ſales about 400 per cent, after paying the cuſtoms and Company's duties, although this parcel was blended with a larger proportion of Mangery, which is of a quality much inferior to the Sooloo, cinnamon.

Having, I preſume, now ſhewn, that the ſubject is of great importance; I ſhall proceed to treat it more at large.

† I am indebted for many elucidations on this matter, to one of the worthieſt and moſt intelligent men, who ever had charge of the Company's affairs in China.

The chief commercial views of an eſtabliſhment on the eaſtern iſlands of India, are,

1. An emporium, to draw the produce of theſe valuable countries, in exchange for European and Indian commodities.

2. To procure, by cultivation and commerce, a ſhare in the ſpice-trade.

3. To extend the ſcene of traffick into the unfrequented extremities of Aſia.

4. To direct the Chineſe trade into a more advantagious channel.

5. To form a colony, by encouraging people of that induſtrious nation to ſettle with us, and by every other means; which colony would be enabled to export of its own produce, cargoes of pepper, cinnamon, ſugar, &c. and would conſume large quantities of manufactures from Europe and India.

The firſt point to be determined is the ſituation beſt adapted for effecting theſe purpoſes; but ſome of the objects here in view, depend ſo much on the nature of the Monſoons, and on the geographical poſition of the eaſtern iſlands, that a few words on theſe heads will be requiſite to render the ſubject intelligible.

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The map, accompanying this eſſay, is merely to elucidate theſe points, and is not meant as a nautical performance: It contains only the large iſlands, except where ſome particular circumſtance required the inſertion of a ſmall one.

It is well known, that, in the Indian ſeas, during ſix months of the year, to ſpeak in general terms, the winds are *eaſterly*, and during the other ſix months *weſterly*: From April to October, the winds on the north of the equator blow from *ſouth-weſt*; at this ſeaſon, in ſouth latitude, they blow from *ſouth-eaſt*. In north latitude, from October to April, the winds are *north-eaſt*; and during theſe months, on the ſouth of the line, they blow from *north-weſt*.

Form a circle of 2000 miles diameter, the circumference whereof ſhall touch China on the north, and on the eaſt, weſt and ſouth, the extremity of the Oriental Polyneſia, under which general name are comprehended all the iſlands commonly called the Eaſt Indies: The iſlands Borneo, Palawan, the Calamianes, and indeed the Philipinas, form between the two portions of this circle a bar of above 1000 miles in

extent: Ships coming from Europe or India, towards the eaſtern part, wherein are ſituated the half of Borneo, Magindanao, Celebes, Jilolo, Moluccas, &c. require the weſterly Monſoon; but when they have reached the northern extremity of the Calamianes, the coaſts of the Philipinas lying in ſuch a direction, it is not poſſible with a ſouth-weſt wind to get to any part of the eaſtern portion of the circle: If they ſail to the ſouth of Borneo with the north-weſt Monſoon, when they reach the Equator, the north-eaſt winds, which then prevail in north latitude, will prevent their paſſage between Borneo and Celebes, and alſo between Celebes and the Moluccas: So that part of two Monſoons, or a long voyage by New-Guinea, which is not practicable for the country embarkations, is requiſite for a free intercourſe with the different portions of the circle. Hence it muſt be obvious, an opening in the bar made by Borneo, Palawan, and the Calamianes, would throw ſuch an advantage into the ſcale, that no circumſtances could counter-balance.

There is only one navigable channel thro' this bar; it lyes between the ſouth point of

Palawan

Palawan and the north end of Borneo; by it the communication is open, *at all ſeaſons*, to the utmoſt extremity of the Polyneſia; and here alſo falls the center of the circle.

Extending the limits ſtill further, it will be found, that Korea, Japon, Bengal, the Choromandel-coaſt and New Holland, are nearly equi-diſtant from hence.

From this place alſo the communication with Siam, Camboja, &c. is at all times open.

Theſe conſiderations muſt clearly point out the ſituation moſt eligible for the propoſed emporium. The iſland Balambangan, lying in the opening between Palawan and Borneo, near the north end of the laſt, beſides the convenience of ſituation, is poſſeſſed of two excellent harbours, and apparently of every other natural advantage.

For an emporium few places would be comparable to Balambangan, even without its harbours. The ſound and bay of Malloodoo is ſcarcely to be parallel'd; above forty miles from the bottom of the bay to the gut between Balambangan and Banguey, and about twenty miles acroſs, the ſoundings ſeldom exceeding twenty fathoms, the bottom

bottom chiefly clay; ſheltered by the land from every wind except from weſt to ſouth-weſt, and only part of the coaſt of Banguey expoſed to theſe; beſides, the natives of this quarter ſay the tempeſts, common in moſt other places of India, at the change of the monſoons, ſcarcely ever happen here.

Although the foregoing be the general objects of an eſtabliſhment to the eaſtward; that more immediately in view is, to divert the Chineſe trade into this channel.

Very great advantages would attend carrying on the China trade from ſuch a port: at preſent every ſhip that goes to Canton, pays about 1200 l. port-charges, excluſive of the duties on the import and export cargoes: In the preſent ſtate of this trade, the mere exemption from port-charges on twelve or fifteen ſhips would exceed 15,000 l. per annum, and is an object of ſome conſideration, but other motives are much more important.

Not only raw-ſilk and china-ware, but the teas alſo are the produce of the eaſtern provinces, from whence the laſt are partly brought by *ſea* to Canton: It is obvious,

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the commodities, from the eaſtern provinces, might be tranſported with almoſt as much facility to Balambangan, as to Canton; and it is probable, the exemption from cuſtoms would do more than make up the balance in favour of it. Beſides Balambangan becoming the emporium of the Oriental Polyneſia, the quantity of goods for the China market would be infinite, and theſe goods yielding a great profit in China, particularly in the eaſtern provinces, the Chineſe merchants would be enabled to ſell their cargoes at a low rate.

The charges and duties are very great on tranſporting the goods to Canton, from the eaſtern provinces of China, where they are produced; exactions are greater at Canton than any where elſe; Europeans are more expoſed to oppreſſion than the natives: The Hong merchants *, with whom only the Europeans can trade, muſt pay large ſums to preſerve their privileges. Beſides, very conſiderable advantages will ariſe in trips

* An aſſociation of Chineſe merchants, to whom the monopoly of the European commerce is granted by the government.

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from port to port, in the neighbourhood of Balambangan, before the ſeaſon comes for the junks to return to China, which alone would probably do more than defray the expences of the voyage, when Balambangan becomes a port of ſuch trade, as it infallibly muſt in a ſhort period, under wiſe management.

It is cuſtomary in China to make advances of money to the merchants, for goods to be delivered at a time ſtipulated; this would be either altogether unneceſſary, or if expedient in particular inſtances, may be done with at leaſt as much ſecurity at Balambangan as in China, ſince the perſons and effects of the merchants, would be a pledge in our hands for their integrity.

The Spaniards at Manila, uſed annually to lend large Sums to the Amoy merchants on a valuable conſideration, which may be done with equal advantage at Balambangan. The Spaniards having ordered all the Chineſe from Manila, this channel of obtaining money is ſtopp'd, and the Chineſe muſt naturally be directed to ſome other quarter. At the ſame time the inhabitants of Manila being debarred this method of

employing

employing their money, muſt be ready to adopt any other.

I preſume, the great benefit of diverting the China trade into this channel, muſt be obvious; it would be uſeleſs to repeat what has been ſaid on that important matter, *extending the conſumption of our woollen manufactures.*

But although the advantage which would attend carrying on the China trade at a port of our own, cannot require any further diſcuſſion; it may be thought neceſſary by ſome, to ſhow that the poſſibility of effecting this deſirable object, is not merely a matter of ſpeculation.

When I was at Sooloo, in Auguſt 1761, the Chineſe from Amoy, offered to contract to deliver there, three junks cargoes of tea, by the middle of April following, and ten or more in September.

The Chineſe navigators are, indeed, incapable of long voyages, without a chain of land for their guide; but the line of Formoſa, Luzon and Palawan, is this guide to theſe coaſters from Amoy and the more northern ports: inſtead of the long circuit to Batavia, they would prefer the direct

direct track to Balambangan, which is to them even *now* a well-known navigation, their Junks paſſing annually in ſight of it in the paſſage to the port of Borneo proper, which branch of trade, being chiefly the produce of the northern parts of Borneo and Palawan, muſt immediately devolve to an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan.

It would however be abſurd to expect the Chineſe, or others, to bring cargoes to Balambangan, unleſs they had almoſt a certainty of diſpoſing of theſe cargoes to advantage; indeed at firſt there muſt naturally be a caution and dread, which can only be removed by repeated experience of a ready ſale and fair dealing; but unleſs their firſt trials meet with a market, year after year will paſs over without effect. When the trade is once eſtabliſhed, the chief part of it will be by barter, but at firſt money ſeems abſolutely requiſite; nor ought the tea, at firſt, to be deſired cheaper than at Canton; good markets will bring crouds of adventurers to Balambangan, whereas an ill-judged parſimony, in the beginning, will deter every one from trying the new market.

The alteration of the mode in carrying on the China trade, would, by proper meaſures, take effect in a very ſhort period; but the other objects of the eſtabliſhment require much more time to carry into execution on the utmoſt extent; for although the ophium and ſome other branches would yield almoſt an immediate advantage to a very conſiderable amount *; yet the country trade can only take place univerſally by the Buggueſe, &c. finding as great a variety of aſſortment of goods at Balambangan as at Batavia: This operation is therefore a work of more time; and does not depend on any regulations made in England, except in relation to the private traders, and to the ophium.

The great point, of making Balambangan an emporium, will be much obſtructed, if

* Mr. Gregory, who has a perfect knowledge of every branch of the Bengal commerce, declared to a Committee of the Court of Directors, when his ſentiments on this ſubject were deſired, that he could prove the annual profit of ſuch an eſtabliſhment would be to the Company, in four or five years, at leaſt 100,000 l. This opinion was grounded on the produce of the inveſtment to be ſent from Bengal, and one half of this ariſes on ophium.

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the free traders are allowed to carry their ophium, &c. to the eaſtern ports; for as they may afford to ſell their ophium even under 400 dollars, it cannot be ſuppoſed the natives will come abroad, to purchaſe goods which they can buy as cheap at home. It appears therefore abſolutely neceſſary to reſtrain the free-traders to the ſtrait of Malacca, and to Sumatra; It is true, the frequent accidents to veſſels, in the more remote parts, will make the event of ſuch voyages very precarious in the long run, but theſe accidents are ruinous to the regular trade, and the great gain in a fortunate voyage, will induce adventurers to run all riſks, and, I will venture to add, commit all abuſes: None who admit the *propriety* of the India trade, being carried on by a *company*, can deny, that ſome reſtrictions on this head are neceſſary, as an unreſtrained private trade to the eaſtward, is liable to every objection which can be urged againſt a *free trade* to India.

But although the other objects of an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan, are not ſuch as can take place immediately. They are not therefore the leſs important; I ſhall pro-

ceed to conſider them particularly, but, before I do ſo, I ſhall give a circumſtantial deſcription of Balambangan.

An iſland is beyond compariſon beſt adapted for the purpoſes of a colony or capital eſtabliſhment, not only as being generally more healthy and temperate than the continent, but from its being more eaſily ſecured and maintained: For this reaſon, a ſmall iſland is much preferable to a large one. The ſize of Balambangan is fully large enough for the purpoſes of a capital eſtabliſhment, and ſo formed, that it has almoſt all the advantages of a ſmaller one. The length is about thirteen miles, but the figure is ſuch, that it is divided into ſeveral ſmall diſtricts almoſt ſurrounded with the ſea.

It is in a manner formed into three diſtricts, by the two harbours; this points out the moſt natural diviſion for a particular deſcription of it.

The ſouthern part ſituated between Looc-See-Kooamboo, and the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, is a ſmall diſtrict, little more than two and a half miles long, and about one and a quarter broad; it is

chiefly ſteep hills, though not deſtitute of vallies; moſt of the hills are cloathed with large timber, ſome of them ſeem to be capable of cultivation, others are rocks almoſt quite perpendicular. The Iſthmus on the north is low land, with a ſingle woody hill in the middle of it: The ſouthern part of the iſland is conſiderably inferior in altitude to that adjoining to the harbour; this part of the iſland, lying along the harbours of Seempool and See-Kooamboo, is about a mile long, and half that in breadth; it contains not only the Seempool hills, which are apparently the higheſt on the iſland, but alſo four ſteep hills, ſcarce acceſſible, named Batopompok; a ſlip of low land from the head of Looc-See-Kooamboo to Looc-Parang, ſeparates it from the hills on the ſouthern extremity of the iſland: So that it appears, on a tranſcient view, to be capable of being made, by a proper diſpoſition of works, impregnable at a very ſmall expence.

This part of the iſland is cloathed with lofty woods, and is extremely well watered; a copious ſtream in its deſcent from the foot of the Seempool hills, to the harbour,

forms ſeveral pools: The water is extremely fine and clear, and the fall being quick, it might, with very little trouble and expence, be carried into the ſhips which may lye cloſe to the ſhore.

The middle diſtrict is by much the moſt extenſive, it is ſituated between the two harbours; and, except the top of Seempool, is perhaps the higheſt land on the iſland: The hills are named Damper, they riſe with a gentle aſcent from Looc-See-Kooamboo, and leave, towards the north harbour, an extenſive plain with two detached hillocks on it; the one on the point which forms the north harbour, and the other to the weſtward adjoining to the oppoſite coaſt of the iſland. This diſtrict of Balambangan, is about ſeven and a half miles in extent, and four broad; it ſeems in general to be very woody, but is probably the beſt part of the iſland, as it ſeems to be free from thoſe ragged hills, which are found in the ſouthern diſtrict, and has the advantage over the northern in the convenient admixture of high and low land.

The northern diſtrict lyes on the eaſt ſide of the low Iſthmus at the head of the

harbour,

harbour, it is five miles long, and two broad: It is an aſſemblage of ſand-downs with a good mould a-top, interſected with hollows; this part of the iſland, and the low land of the middle diviſion, are almoſt entirely a freſh water marſh; it is the leaſt woody, the trees growing only here and there on the higher grounds; the ſhrubs are not very thick: This land is admirably adapted for rice, and, when ſowed with paddy, yielded 220 to 230 fold.

The ſoil of Balambangan is very various; the northern part ſeems to be a fine white ſand bottom, covered in ſome places with a light black mould, in others with a rich fat mud, clear in many places for almoſt half a mile ſquare, without a buſh or tree, and covered with a fine graſs growing in patches. Scarce any where, in this part, are to be found thick trees, and then only in clumps on the higher grounds, whence it may be conjectured, this deficiency of wood is owing to the ſuper-abundance of water. In many places in the northern diſtrict, even on the higher grounds, there are large ponds of freſh water, but all of

it brown: Some of theſe high plains are ſandy, others marſhy, covered with ruſhes: It is ſaid, that, in this part of the iſland, the trees ſhed their leaves in dry ſeaſons, which the natives of Banguey aſcribe to the warmth of the ſoil; the trees on that iſland, and on the ſouthern part of Balambangan, do not ſhed their leaves in this manner. The ſoil about Seempool hills is a kind of marly clay; the water-courſe is of this ſubſtance, though it appears to the eye, to be flat beds of rock; when broken, the water is of a milky-white, and continues ſo for a long time before it becomes clear: a good ſoil of this kind is found every where among the rocks a-top of the bluff-hills.

There is a very great abundance of ſtone in this iſland; the hills adjoining to the ſouthern harbour are compoſed of a ſpecies of granite, very hard and ponderous, it rings when ſtruck; it lyes in detached blocks, ſome very large, others ſmall and eaſily removed. There is a kind of ſtone in cliffs to the ſea at Torong-Seeboooroongy in the ſouthern part of the iſland, ſoft enough to be penetrated by a ſword, though it does not ſeem to be affected by the ſea-air.

There

There can be no better lime than that made of the *Manangky ſhells* and *coralines*, of which there is abundance on the ſhoals.

There is on this iſland great plenty of fine timber cloſe to the ſea; the high lands are reckoned to have the largeſt trees; but on the hill at the point on the ſouth ſide of the north harbour, amongſt many *Calaotit* trees nearly of the ſame magnitude, I meaſured one which, as high up as I could reach, was above three fathoms in circumference, and quite ſtreight, without branches for at leaſt ſeventy or eighty feet; the wood is ſomewhat reddiſh and very heavy, it has an agreeable ſmell, and is fit for many uſes.

The timber on Balambangan is of various kinds; amongſt others are *naga*, *tindaloo*, (which is a ſpecies of mahogany), *lawawn* or *poone*, *bintangal*, *dongon*, *malawee*, *palomaria* or *alexandrian-laurel*, called *dancawn* by the natives, *ebany*, *byag* or *ſanteekee*, the leaf of which is very large, and ſhaped ſomething like a fig-leaf, the wood is rediſh, very light and ſtrong, and therefore fit for oars, maſts, or yards, though ſeldom large enough for lower maſts. It has

has a double bark; the outer thin and dark coloured; the inner thick, ſpongy, and red: it is ſaid ropes are made of the bark of young trees. *Poolé*, as it is called by the Malayos, is a light white wood, uſed for making canoes, the tree growing very large: the Malayos alſo make their coffins of it, as it laſts long under ground. The bark is thick, on the inſide a mixture of green and white; it yields a white milk. Towards the roots it ſpreads out in abutments, which are uſed for making targets; the grain of the wood is in long flakes; it ſeems to be very light, but ſtrong. *Bark-wood* has a bark two inches thick, compoſed of hard filaments in fret-work, with a ſoft red ſpongy ſubſtance between: it has a thin brown and green outer bark; the wood is white, and ſeems to be hard. *Agoo* or *mobohok*, in the leaves, has a great reſemblance to fir; the ſeed alſo grows in ſmall cones; but it is a ſolid heavy wood. It is common in almoſt all the eaſtern parts of India, and grows even within high water-mark. At Balambangan it is found chiefly upon the north coaſt, and on the ſhores of the north harbour, though there are ſome trees inland.

Many

Many of the trees on Balambangan are well adapted for maſting: the Chineſe junks conſtantly come with *pine* maſts from Amoy to Sooloo; where they leave theſe, and take in others of the country-wood, which they diſpoſe of in China for a high price, being much preferred to the pine-maſts by the Chineſe. Nothing is ſuperior to the *palamaria* for knees and crooked-timbers. This ſpecies, though found at Balambangan, is in much greater plenty on the coaſts of Banguey, Sampangmangio, *&c.* Some of them are very large: I meaſured the ſtem of one near Sampanmangio above $2\frac{1}{4}$ fathoms in circumference; the leaves reſemble the bay, but are larger; the flowers are extremely beautiful and odoriferous. The tree yields on inciſion a gum uſeful in wounds, and in the Philipinas an oil is made of the fruit.

Beſides the abundance of fine timber, there is on Balambangan great plenty of *anneebon* or *neebon*, commonly called, by the Engliſh, the *cabbage-tree*; of this the rafters for covering the black peoples houſes on the coaſt of Choromandel are chiefly made. There is alſo plenty of *wild areka*; of *neepa*, uſed in all theſe parts for thatch-

ing

ing their houſes; a great variety of *rattans* and *canes*, and many ſmall *bamboes*. The *ſeepeetalla*, called by the Malayos *kaio-oollar* or *ſnake-wood*, is in plenty: its leaves and root are held of great efficacy againſt poiſons. Kempher, in his *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, recommends it in the hydrophobia; and ſays he had uſed it ſucceſsfully in putrid fevers.

Balambangan, as above obſerved, is remarkably well ſupplied with water: the northern part is almoſt entirely a freſh water marſh covered with ruſhes, one ſpecies whereof is above a fathom long, and almoſt as large as a man's little finger; but all the water of this part of the iſland is brown like tea, probably from the roots of theſe ruſhes. In ſevere droughts, which however are very uncommon in this quarter, the inhabitants of Banguey come over to Balambangan for their water, the ſprings here never drying up. Nor are they attended with any noxious quality or ill taſte, notwithſtanding the colour; the pools have generally fiſh in them, which is conſidered as a criterion of ſalubrity. The water at Seempool is very clear and ſoft; it paſſes over a marly bed,

and

and waſhes linen remarkably white. Clear water is alſo found at ſome other places of the iſland; but the low land in general has brown. The northern part is over-run with various ſpecies of the *nepenthes*; but whether the abundance of water is derived from thence, or whether they be the conſequence of the abundance of water, muſt be left to the deciſion of naturaliſts: however, ſome caution may be prudent in rooting them up, leſt the former ſhould be the caſe. Beſides the *nepenthes*, ſome other vegetable ſubſtances here yield water: a ſpecies of rattan, named *toongal*, about the ſize of a man's wriſt, yields plenty of very clear water. Another creeper, called *bahanoompool*, alſo yields water, it is gummy, but generally clear and good; the creeper muſt be cut above, or the water retires: theſe creepers are found even on the tops of the higheſt hills, entwined with the upper branches of the trees, and hanging down from thence. Thoſe found in moiſt grounds have moſt water; thoſe in dry places have little: ſome of them are larger than a man's leg; they have very rough bark, with deep ſcores.

There

There is alſo, when the tide is ebbed, good water on the ſhore of Balambangan, oppoſite to Calootan; and the country people ſay, there is, to the ſouthward of Sooboroong-y Dammit, a freſh-water lake cloſe to the ſhore, though not communicating with the ſea. In this lake are many crocodiles.

Balambangan is well ſupplied with fiſh; they are excellent in kind, and of great variety; from the many ſand-flats on almoſt every part of the coaſt, except the ſouthern harbour, no place can be more convenient for hauling the Seyne: there is alſo great variety of ſhell-fiſh, particularly vaſt plenty of fine oiſters in the ſouthern harbour; upon the banks they find *Manangky* and *ſea-ſlugs* or *Becha-de-mer*, and at all parts of the iſland plenty of *turtle*, chiefly the *tortoiſe-ſhell* kind, though it is ſaid the *green turtle* are in abundance on the back of the iſland. *Wild hogs* are in plenty on Balambangan, particularly in the ſouthern parts; there are alſo ſome *deer*, and many *peelandock*, which are the ſmall animals, called very improperly by the Engliſh *Hog-Deer*. The Banguey people ſay there are

no

no cattle on the iſland; I thought from the prints of footſteps and dung that there were: ſome of our people inſiſted that they heard one low: if any, there are but very few: however, as there are droves of thouſands at Sampangmangio, the iſland may be eaſily ſtocked by tranſporting the calves. Theſe cattle are what the Sooloos call *Liſſang*. From Tawarran, on the north-weſt coaſt of Borneo, may be had a breed of goats, for which the ſouthern part of Balambangan is well ſuited.

The conveniency of the *port* comes now under conſideration. Perhaps few iſlands, with other advantages in any degree correſponding to Balambangan, enjoy one harbour ſo excellent as either of thoſe this iſland poſſeſſes. They are both land-locked, and capable of admitting the largeſt ſhips. The north harbour, though it has many ſhoals, is capable of containing all the navy of England in good ſoundings of clay and mud. The ſouthern harbour, though much leſs capacious, would contain a greater number of large ſhips than will probably ever meet there, and ſmall ones without number. The ſoundings are ſo ſteep, that a man may, in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fath. coral, caſt a hand

lead to the ſhore at low water, and juſt without that depth is four fathom mud: near the watering-place a wharf might be made at a very ſmall expence, to which ſhips might lay their broad-ſides. Beſides theſe two harbours, of which an adequate idea may be formed from the plans, there are ſeveral others on the iſland, though inferior to theſe. Parang is ſmall, but appears to be ſafe; Toommang on the weſt coaſt, directly oppoſite to Looc-See-Kooambo, is ſaid to be perfectly ſheltered from any ſwell by ſhoals which lye off it, and to have good water. On the eaſt coaſt, oppoſite to Mangoak, there is alſo a good harbour made by ſhoals. Damper is capacious, but full of banks.

It is not eaſy to determine which of the three diſtricts is moſt eligible for an eſtabliſhment. In point of ſecurity perhaps the ſouthern is to be preferred; but the hillock named Gunong Loonoong, at the entrance of the north harbour, is capable of being made very defenſible, as it is far diſtant from any other riſing ground, and commands the country adjoining: it is ſituated on a high ſandy point, where there is a free circulation of air, and therefore a probability of its being healthy:

healthy: the point without the hill, being almoſt half a mile in extent, is ſufficiently large for a town, and cannot be approached by ſhips within gun-ſhot till they have entered the harbour, nor can boats land but there. Perhaps the iſthmus between Looc-See-Kooambo and Toommang would be ſtill preferable, as there is a ſingle hill on it alſo; but I cannot ſay any thing more perſonally of it.

The advantages of Balambangan having been found, generally and particularly, ſo great, it is not neceſſary to enforce the choice by mentioning inferior conſiderations. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that the north-weſt and north-eaſt coaſts of Borneo have good ſoundings: and tho' on both ſides there are many banks in the offing, the track from the weſtward home to Balambangan is entirely free from ſhoals: the winds from hence to Sooloo and Magindanao are variable, and the tides pretty regular, except within Banguey, where there is but little. Theſe are very conſiderable advantages, as facilitating the intercourſe with the different diſtricts.

Having, on a general and particular view, found Balambangan exquiſitely adapted for a capital to the oriental Polyneſia, as ſtrictly central, both in diſtance and conveniency of acceſs, I ſhall hereafter conſider, one by one, the objects of an eſtabliſhment as confined to this ſpot:

Firſt, As an EMPORIUM.

Balambangan, ſituated at the north point of Borneo, and ſouth of Palawan, is the moſt convenient place for the inhabitants of the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of theſe iſlands to bring the productions of their country. For a particular view of theſe diſtricts, and what they yield, it will be proper to arrange them under diſtinct heads.

Theſe diſtricts, which I comprehend under the general denomination of Felicia, were formerly under the dominion of Sooloo, and are what I have obtained a ceſſion of for the Company. The eaſtern limit is Towſan Abai on Borneo, in about the latitude of $5\frac{3}{4}$ north. The weſtern, Keemannees on the ſame iſland in about $5\frac{1}{2}$ north. Northward it comprehends all the iſlands between

between theſe meridians to the Spaniſh poſſeſſions.

We muſt truſt in great meaſure to report for an account of the produce and other circumſtances of theſe diſtricts; but, having compared the different reports, there will be little fear of being greatly miſled in any material point, and, though every circumſtance cannot be warranted, the general idea which it will convey may be ſafely relied on.

Theſe diſtricts may be arranged under five heads:

1. Keeney-Balloo, under which is comprehended the coaſt from Keemannees to the north point of Borneo.

2. Malloodoo, which includes the ſeveral places in the bay of that name.

3. Paitan. Thoſe on the coaſt eaſtward to Towſan Abai.

4. Felicia proper, comprehending Balambangan, Banguey, *&c.*

5. Palawan.

1. Keeney-Balloo. The mountain, which beſtows its name on this diſtrict, though

perhaps not the higheſt in the world, as ſome of the Spaniards reckon it, is of an immenſe height, and is viſible from the eaſtern extremity of the Felician diſtricts. I have ſeen it from a ſmall galley when above 130 Engliſh miles diſtant; and the Sooloos ſay it is viſible from Ypolote on Palawan, which cannot be leſs than 200 miles, though the elevation of the land of Ypolote is to be conſidered in that caſe, as it is not probable any land in the world can be ſeen from the ſurface of the ſea at ſo great a diſtance as 200 miles. It is remarkable, Keeney-Balloo is neither a ſharp peak nor the ſummit of a lofty ridge of mountains, but a large hump, flat a-top for almoſt the whole extent, with a few ragged peaks on this flat. Keeney Balloo is ſhewn to great advantage from Malloodoo bay; for the ridge of mountains behind Paitan and Bankoka, called Kaindangan, leaves, in the bottom of Malloodoo bay, a gap of low land between it and the ridge of hills which extend from the Tampaſſook mountains towards Sampanmangio. In the middle of this gap appears the mountain of Keeney-Balloo, riſing abruptly on the weſt

to a ſtupendous height, almoſt perpendicularly, and gradually deſcending on the eaſt till it is loſt in the plains toward Sandakan. On the weſt it is quite detached from the ridge of mountains which run parallel to the coaſt: theſe mountains may be ſeen twenty leagues; they terminate about Pandaſan, though the land to Sampanmangio is of a good height. From the weſtern coaſt, and even at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, a fall of water is viſible, tumbling down the precipice of the mountain: it is perhaps the moſt remarkable cataract in the world; I have ſeen it from the coaſt of Abai; it was then about fifteen miles diſtant.

The country in the neighbourhood of Keeney-Balloo, when cultivated and inhabited by a civilized people, cannot fail of being one of the moſt delightful in the world; it is almoſt ſurrounded with mountains, and is watered by many conſiderable rivers, ſome whereof, if not all, have their ſource from the lake of Keeney-Balloo.

It is ſaid this lake lies on the ſouth ſide of the mountain, and is ſo large that the land is not viſible acroſs it; in the middle are many iſlands: it is not above forty or

ty miles by land from the bottom of Malloodoo bay through a plain country, and ſome ſay is acceſſible by the river of Bowengun, which falls into this bay, by that of Tawarran, *&c.* This advantage is infinite: for almoſt all the conſiderable rivers in Borneo, above 100 in number, flow from this lake: although they may not all be navigable from their ſource, the land-carriage muſt, comparatively, be ſhort to where they become navigable, and thus goods may be eaſily tranſported down the ſtream to the moſt remote parts of Borneo, and the produce of the interior diſtricts received in return at the mouths of thoſe rivers. Perhaps no place in the univerſe is ſo happily diſpoſed for inland-trade as the iſland Borneo, which is held to ſurpaſs all others as much in riches as in magnitude.

It is not to be imagined that this inland navigation will take place on the immediate eſtabliſhment at Balambangan. It may be a work of many years; but it is ever to be kept in view as the great *deſideratum*.

On the north-weſt coaſt of Borneo, from Keemannees to Sampanmangio, in a ſpace of little more than 100 miles, there are

ſeventeen rivers, moſt of them navigable by veſſels of burthen, having from two to three fathom on their bars: it is univerſally allowed, that the rivers of Tampaſſook and Tawarran come from the lake; ſeveral report the ſame of Mangcaboong, Pappal, *&c.* In Malloodoo bay there are nine or ten rivers, ſeveral of them very conſiderable, particularly Bankoka, Bowen-gun, and Songy-baſaar. The firſt, according to the report of the natives, has three fathom water on the bar. Some pretend all theſe rivers come from the lake; but the Bankoka people ſay only Bowen-gun does. The river of Paitan is alſo generally allowed to come from the lake; and none diſpute that Soogoot, Labook, Kinabatangan which diſembogues by thirty mouths between Sandakan and Unſang, the Tiroon rivers, Koety, Paſſir, Benjar, Lawa, Sambas, *&c.* come from the ſame ſource.

Around the margin of this lake are innumerable towns of Idaan, who are ſaid to have a ſovereign here, though in other places only chiefs or orankys. This tribe is extremely numerous, and very little civilized, though addicted to agriculture, and,

barring the influence of ſome ſingular opinions, well diſpoſed to commerce. The Idaan from the lake carry on a commerce inland with Benjar, and captain Beeckman, in his voyage to Benjar, mentions to have ſeen thoſe people, called there Biajoos, who came down the river in their own proas, and brought gold, diamonds, &c.

Perhaps it may be conſidered neither as a uſeleſs nor unentertaining digreſſion, to recite the information I have received, in the northern parts, of a people ſo peculiar in their cuſtoms.

The Idaan of different places go under different denominations, and have different languages; but in their manners and cuſtoms ſeem to be nearly alike. All objects ſeen through different ends of the perſpective appear diſſimilar, and none more than the people now under conſideration.

The name Idaan is in ſome meaſure peculiar to thoſe of the north part of Borneo; the inland people of Paſſir are called Darat; thoſe of Benjar, Biajoos: the Subanos of Magindanao appear to be the ſame people; perhaps where the aborigines in the ſeveral iſlands of the oriental Polyneſia are not

Negroes,

Negroes, they are little different from the Idaan of Borneo.

The Idaan are reckoned fairer than the inhabitants of the coaſt; this has given riſe to an opinion that they are deſcendants of the Chineſe: however, this deſcent from the Chineſe appears to have as little foundation in truth as the ſtory they tell in confirmation of it, "That the emperor of China ſent a great fleet for the ſtone of a ſnake which had its reſidence at Keeney-Balloo; that the number of people landed was ſo great as to form a continued chain from the ſea, and when the ſnake's ſtone was ſtole it was handed from one to the other till it reached the boat, which immediately put off from the ſhore and carried the prize to the junks; they, immediately ſailing, left all thoſe who were aſhore behind, though their diſpatch was not enough to prevent the ſnake's purſuit, who came up with the junks and regained his treaſure." The origins of all nations are hid in the obſcurity of fable. It is not therefore wonderful that a people ſo uncultivated as the Idaan ſhould be unacquainted with their antiquity.

The

The proper Idaan language is deſcribed to be very ſoft and ſmooth; but probably it is not very copious, as may well be ſuppoſed from the rudeneſs of the people, who are even ignorant of high numbers, and therefore when they go to war, being very numerous, they do not count their numbers by thouſands, but by *trees*. They chooſe a large tree, and each man as he paſſes gives it a ſtroke with his weapon; when the tree falls they count one: they who follow pick out another in like manner.

They entertain many very ſingular, whimſical, and abſurd opinions. Amongſt theſe may be reckoned the deſtructive one, that all whom they kill in this world ſhall attend them as ſlaves after death. This notion of future intereſt in the deſtruction of the human ſpecies is a great impediment to an intercourſe with them, as murder goes farther than preſent advantage or reſentment. From the ſame principle they will purchaſe a ſlave, guilty of any capital crime, at five fold his value, that they may be his executioners. The ſame ſuperſtitious opinions amongſt them occaſion frequent wars, and more frequent aſſaſſinations. This behaviour

behaviour ſeems however rather to ariſe from ſimple prejudices of education, than inordinacy of diſpoſition; for thoſe who become Mahometans are remarkable examples of piety and virtue.

The ſame wiſe hand of Providence, which maintains order in the natural world, extends its care to the moral; men, under the influence of ſuch prejudices, muſt ſoon be extirpated, was no antidote to be found to this principle of deſtruction: The Idaan are very ſtrict keepers of their oath, which they take, by pronouncing in their language ſome execrations againſt perfidy, and then cut a rattan: You do the like in yours; the friendſhip is then cemented with all the diſtrict with whoſe oranky this oath was exchanged: They then conſider you as a brother, and alſo every body related to you; if any one knows of ſuch an engagement, and pretends to be a relation of the perſon, they will take his word for it, and behave to him in the ſame manner as if they were under an oath to himſelf.

If the Idaan are at any place ill-uſed, they communicate the report very quickly, and will every where remove as you approach;

proach; on the contrary, if well treated, they will flock to you from every quarter. They are extremely ſuperſtitious in ſigns, and though, unleſs theſe intervene, they will not fail, if they engage to come to you by a certain day; yet if they hear a bird which they reckon unlucky, or any thing of the like nature, they will return home; this makes their travelling always tedious and uncertain.

They are generally well acquainted with poiſons, and their antidotes; the famous Borneo poiſon, with which they poiſon their darts, is collected by them only, tho' the trunk, through which they ſhoot theſe darts, is a weapon common alſo to the inhabitants on the adjoining coaſts. This poiſon is the juice of a tree, named Ippoo; its effects ſeem to be very ſimilar to thoſe of the Llana and Ticunna of South America.

The Idaan have, amongſt different tribes of them, many very whimſical religious tenets; Paradiſe is generally ſuppoſed to be a top of Keeney-Balloo: Some, as thoſe of Geeong, think it is guarded by a fiery dog, who is a formidable opponent to the female ſex;

ſex; for, whenever any virgins come, he ſeizes them as his legal prize; but whatever women have been cohabited with in this world, he conſiders as unworthy of his embrace, and lets them paſs: The fathers however of Geeong do not fail to reproach their daughters, though not very ſeverely, if they make a ſlip.

Others, amongſt the Idaan, think the paſſage for men into paradiſe is over a long tree, which, unleſs they have killed a man, is ſcarce practicable, perhaps for want of the ſlaves aſſiſtance. When priſoners are taken in war, it is ſaid a general meeting is called; when the chief gives the firſt blow, and then the devoted victim is ſtruck with weapons on every ſide. It is reported, if a chief of their enemies be taken, his body is embalmed with camphir, and his eyes being taken out, two cowries are placed in the ſockets, and his arms extended; thus forming a diſmal ſpectacle.

People, who thus deform the image of their Maker, by eſtranging themſelves from the dictates of reaſon and humanity, can ſcarce be conſidered as men, and are beneath

the

the Oran-Outans of their neighbouring woods in dignity.

However, although theſe cuſtoms and opinions may raiſe abhorrence, the Idaan deſerve rather to be conſidered as objects of compaſſion than contempt, as they ſeem extremely deſirous of intuition, and entertain a juſt regret of their own ignorance and a mean idea of themſelves on that account; for, when they come into the houſes or veſſels of the Mahometans, they pay them the utmoſt veneration as ſuperior intelligences, who *know their Creator:* They will not ſit down where the Mahometans ſleep, nor will they put their fingers into the ſame chunam, or betel-box, but receive a portion with the utmoſt humility, and in every inſtance denote, with the moſt abject attitudes and geſtures, the veneration they entertain for *God unknown*, in the reſpect they pay to thoſe who have a knowledge of *Him*.

If we add the cuſtom of arranging human ſculls about the houſes of the Idaan, as a mark of affluence, we need not wonder at the terrible accounts of their barbarity,

rity, nor at the reports of Anthropophagi. That ſometimes diſtreſs, and, on particular occaſions, national antipathies have induced men to *eat* of their ſpecies, is too ſtrongly atteſted to be doubted; but that there are any race of men who may properly be called Cannibals, may well be queſtioned: I never have even heard from any of the natives of ſuch people to the eaſtward of Sumatra, though it is reported ſome, as well in the Philipinas as eaſtern iſlands, are proud to drink out of the ſculls of their enemies. Opinions of this nature often ariſe from miſconſtructions or accident, and ought always to be adopted with great caution: Perhaps, from a want of this conſideration, ariſes the report of Cannibals on Sumatra, poſitively averred by the Engliſh who have reſided at Bencoolen.

Perhaps, ſome may think this digreſſion idle; but let ſuch conſider that the civilization of the Idaan, is *one* great object here in view; and that the means of doing this will greatly depend on ſhewing them that Keeney-Balloo is *not Paradiſe*. Although it muſt be held in high veneration for its happy influence in ſupplying the iſlands

and

and countries around with water; ſome of them, in a degree very ſeldom met with in ſuch-like iſlands, particularly Mangalloom and Balambangan, as this remarkable abundance is probably owing to the vicinity of Keeney-Balloo, which being ſo diſpoſed as to form a bar to the clouds brought from the ſea on every ſide: The coldneſs of its immenſe height condenſes theſe vapours every night into water, which ſupplies by ſyphons the iſlands and countries in its neighbourhood, and the ſurplus forms the cataract above-mentioned.

It is a common opinion, that the ſoundings of the ſea only expreſs the prolongation of the land; according to this, it might be expected the coaſt adjoining to Keeney-Balloo ſhould be very ſteep, which is not however the caſe, the ſoundings ſtretching far off to ſea, both on the north-weſt and north-eaſt coaſts of Borneo; nor is that part neareſt Keeney-Balloo, in any reſpect an exception: This leads to a conjecture, that a conſequence not to be found in the adjoining ſea, will be met with in the lake. That above Manila, which has ſome very high mountains near it, is in ſome

places

places unfathomable, and, probably, the lake of Keeney-Balloo will on examination be found ſo, notwithſtanding the report of Sultan Bantilan that it has five or ſix fathoms in ſome places; indeed, any report of the depth muſt be doubtful, as it could only be derived from the Idaan, who can ſcarce be ſuppoſed to have had the curioſity to ſound it: nevertheleſs, there may be five or ſix fathom near ſhore, and much greater depth in the interior part of the lake. This lake is taken notice of by Valentyn; his map of Borneo is indeed extremely erroneous, but he deſcribes the river of Benjar to flow from it, and the lake to have many towns around it, and to abound in gold; theſe reports are in ſome meaſure confirmed by Captain Daniel Beeckman, who was at Benjar in 1714; for, he ſays, the natives told him, the river had its riſe in the higheſt mountain in the iſland, "from which it fell in a moſt wonderful "cataract;" this undoubtedly relates to Keeney-Balloo, and it confirms the report I have heard in the northern parts of Borneo, that the Idaan of the lake have an intercourſe with Benjar; theſe inland people,

Beeckman mentions, as before taken notice of, to bring down gold and diamonds.

The productions of the diſtrict of Keeney-Balloo, are, in general, *ſago*, *rice*, *beettle-nut*, *coconut-oil*, *wax*, *camphir*, ſome *pepper* and *cinnamon*, and on the river of Tampaſſook there is a *gold-mine*, and, it is ſaid, near Mangcaboong, one of *diamonds*.

The country is extremely well adapted for the cultivation of *pepper* and *cinnamon*; it is well watered, and has the conveniency of many rivers navigable by boats, and ſome even by larger veſſels; the inhabitants are numerous, particularly inland.

Keemannees is the firſt river, it is very populous, the inhabitants are Idaan; they build veſſels and navigate in them to Java, &c. they manufacture a kind of matts of *boorry*, which are white and very ſtrong; the country produces conſiderable quantities of cinnamon and gum-copal, called tenjoo by the Sooloos: The chiefs here are Orankayos Pulang and Pahul.

Pappal, which is not only the largeſt river on this coaſt, but on many accounts the moſt conſiderable place, is the next to Keemanees; the inhabitants near the river's

mouth are chiefly Iſlam; but up the river are many Idaan. Sultan Banteelan reckoned in this diſtrict between 30 and 50,000 fighting men. The river has a bar, but within it is very deep, and is navigable a great way up: The banks of the river are covered with coconut-trees; the nuts are ſcarce any where in greater plenty, and, after a ſhower of rain, many hundreds may be picked up on the ſtrand at the river's mouth. The country produces great plenty of rice, and is the only place hereabout where it is to be purchaſed, in all others the natives ſell it in paddy. The harveſt is about the end of Auguſt. The natives build many veſſels, and navigate to Java, &c. they manufacture *boorry* matts like thoſe at Keemannees; the other productions are much alike. The river diſembogues by two branches, the weſtern is named Benoné. The chief man is named Orankayo Ameer. Dato Onnoo has an uncle and many relations here, who are the moſt conſiderable people.

Pangalat is the next river; to the northward of this is a large bay, off which lye Poolo Gaya and ſome other iſlands, which, by report, form a good harbour, though of

difficult acceſs, on account of ſeveral ſhoals lying near the iſlands. Into this bay the rivers Keenaroot, Pootatan, Mangatal, Innanam and Labatuan diſembogue.

Keenaroot or Keenaloot, is a large river, though ſmaller than Pappal, and produces the ſame articles as it; the inhabitants are Iſlam, they are pretty numerous.

Pootatan has a ſmall river, but more people; its productions are the ſame as in other places on this coaſt, except *camphir*: Theſe two diſtricts are under the juriſdiction of Oranky Amyle; the inhabitants are Iſlam.

Mangatal is a middling river, with few inhabitants; its productions the ſame.

Innanam is a large river, with many inhabitants who are Iſlam, its productions are the ſame; it is under the juriſdiction of Orankayo Mamoot.

Labatuan, a middling river, with a good many inhabitants who are Iſlam; produces the ſame things.

The next river to the northward of Poolo Gaya is Mangcaboong; it is inhabited by Iſlam, under Orankayo Attip; it

it is populous, and the river, which has a ſand bar with two fathom on it at high-water, leads to a ſalt-water lake about three miles within the bar; in this lake there is two fathom water, and, in ſome places, only one fathom at low water. Large Sooloo boats cannot get over the bar, within which there is from three to four fathom water: The river above the lake is rapid and full of rocks, ſo that it is only navigable by Canoes; ſome pretend it comes from Keeney-Balloo lake. On each ſide of Mangcaboong river, there is a remarkable point; that on the ſouth is named Tong Kaetan, the other Tong Dallid. It is ſaid there is a diamond-mine near Mangcaboong, at a hill adjoining to the ſea.

Tawarran, inhabited by Idaan, is the next river; this diſtrict, which is very populous, has many goats; about ſixty Chineſe, who left Borneo-Proper many years ago, are ſettled amongſt the natives. The river comes from the lake of Keeney-Balloo, to which ſome ſay it is navigable by boats, others pretend there are many large rocks, and a fall, which impede the naviga-

tion. Sulaman has a few people who are Iſlam, under Oranky Umar.

Amboong, Loobook, Abai, and Tampaſſook, form one juriſdiction, inhabited by Mahometans.

Amboong, at the ſouthern part of this bay, is a pretty high ſharp-peaked hill, terminating in a high bluff point, with a ſmall bay to the ſouthward between it and a ſandy point, off which are ſome breakers. Towards Amboong there is a bank of mud, ſhoaling pretty gradually to four fathom, about half a mile diſtance from Amboong point: within this point there is a rock above water, and breakers cloſe to the ſhore; and to the northward of it a little hill, which appears like an iſland, there being a channel behind it, or a cove on each ſide: beyond this there is another ſmall round woody hummock iſland, which is ſaid to lye in the entrance of Amboong harbour; this harbour is deſcribed to be deep, and very ſafe, though ſmall. Beyond the iſland there is a white rock cloſe to the ſhore, and round the next point is Loobook bay; Amboong town is viſible as you paſs along the coaſt: this diſtrict abounds in wild

wild cattle, and *Capis* are found in the bay.

Loobook bay appears to be pretty deep, and is ſheltered from the northerly winds by the iſland Uſookan; and the natives, who ſay it has deep water, pretend there is never much ſea in it; though it ſeems to lye expoſed to weſterly winds. There is a rock off this bay which ſeemed to be joined by a reef to Uſookan. Loobook has no river; the town contains about forty or fifty houſes.

Abai harbour is too ſhallow to admit veſſels of a greater draught than twelve feet; but ſuch may, at high water, go into the river, where there are three or four fathoms. About two or three miles up is Abai town, which contains about thirty houſes on the ſouthern ſide, and ten on the north of the river, all built on ſtakes within high water mark: the river is ſalt at the town; it is navigable a conſiderable way inland, and farther up there is another town ſomewhat leſs than that abovementioned.

The country here has a very agreeable appearance, being an aſſemblage of hills in

ridges of various heights, chiefly cleared, and remarkably green: theſe hills are interſected by deep vallies.

Bira-Birahan, which is the high land on the eaſt ſide of Abai harbour, is a peninſula formed by the ſea on the north, Abai harbour on the weſt, and the river on the ſouth-eaſt: it is very well watered: the land beyond it on the eaſt is a low plain, extending inland, between the rivers of Abai and Tampaſſook, which at a few miles up approach very near together, leaving a low narrow iſthmus between them: the natives have had ſome thoughts of directing the Tampaſſook river acroſs this into the channel of Abai, which would not only make the laſt freſh to the ſea, but probably clear a channel through the harbour. Bira-Birahan and the iſland Uſookan were the firſt places granted to the Company in this quarter; the former ſeems to be a very convenient place for a fortification, as in a manner detached from the continent; and though perhaps ſome of the hills on the ſouth ſide of the river may command part of it, yet the river is on that ſide a ſecurity, and great part of the peninſula appears to be

covered

covered by its own hills from that ſide. It is not however to be underſtood that a multiplication of fortifications is here recommended, even in the moſt general manner; Balambangan alone ſhould ever be thought of as a military eſtabliſhment.

Uſookan, which forms the harbour of Abai, is a high ſharp peaked woody iſland; but the natives of Abai report, that it is deſtitute of water in the dry ſeaſon. About a mile and $\frac{1}{4}$ to the northward of it there is a very dangerous ledge of rocks, dry at half-ebb, but not viſible at high water; there is a good channel between them and Uſookan, with nine fathoms cloſe to the iſland.

The point of Tampaſſook river is bluff trees: at low water there is a great ſurf on the bar, but there are two fathoms on it at high; and within three or four fathoms it is freſh to the ſea, and comes from Keeney-Balloo lake: the town conſiſts of about 100 houſes, though there are many people up the river, near to which, inland, there is a gold-mine.

Many Ilanon are lately ſettled here; it is reckoned in all about 500: in 1763 it is ſaid about forty veſſels of theſe pirates, who

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are originally from the iſland Magindanao, went to the Philipinas, where they did much miſchief, and carried many of the Spaniſh Indians into captivity. Theſe Ilanon have intermarried with the Tampaſſook people, but are dreaded and deteſted by the natives of all other places in this neighbourhood.

This part of the country abounds with paddy, for which many veſſels come hither annually from Sooloo: it is alſo viſited by ſome from Borneo proper, and from Camboja on the account of trade. The chief of Tampaſſook is named Modin; he of Abai, Abdul.

Pandaſan has few inhabitants; they are Mahometans: it is repreſented to afford ſhelter for ſmall veſſels without the river's mouth behind a rocky point. To the ſouthward of the river is a bank with three rocks above water, and to the northward two others named Bocom-poolow.

Loo is a ſmall river; the laſt on this coaſt is Tambaloolan, adjoining to Tanjong-Agal-Agal; the natives are Idaan, but few in number; the river is freſh to the ſea, and is reported to be capable of admitting a long-

long-boat; oppoſite to it there is a very remarkable coral tree.

Between Agal-Agal and Sampanmangio there appears to be ſome bays and coves as you paſs along ſhore. Batomandé is a ſmall iſland, or rock, joined to Agal-Agal by a reef, which appears very ſhallow.

There are ſeveral iſlands lying off this coaſt. The moſt northern is Mantannané, which from the weſtward appears like ſeveral, there being three or four round hummocks on it joined by low land: there is one low iſland to the weſtward of this, and a peaked rocky one between them. They are all woody, and produce ſome birds'-neſts, but reddiſh: they appertain to the juriſdiction of Abai. On all ſides of them are ſhoals, though detached from the iſland. On the north-weſt the bank is about twenty miles diſtant, and to the weſt of Agal-Agal, about north from Mantannané, there is reported to be a rock on which the ſea breaks.

Mangalloom, though a low iſland, not above a mile in extent, abounds with freſh water, having no leſs than five ſtreams: it yields much agal-agal, a root reſembling

bling turnips, and plenty of Teebarrak, reckoned one of the fineſt fruits in the eaſt.

Poloo Teega, adjoining to Keemannees, is not remarkable for any thing, nor is Lyng-Layangan, a ſmall hummock adjoining to Pappal: between it and Mangalloom lyes a bank, with four rocks, named Bato-Sooloo.

There are many banks and ſhoals along this coaſt, but they have deep channels and good ſoundings between them. The coaſt in general ſeems to be clear.

2. Malloodoo, Malooroo, or Maroodo, as it is differently expreſſed, was anciently a powerful kingdom; according to ſultan Banteelan's account it ſtill contains 30,000 people: it is in many reſpects one of the moſt valuable diſtricts on Borneo: it has great plenty of proviſions, both grain and cattle; few places are better watered, and inland it is very populous. The whole bay may be conſidered as a harbour, having, it is ſaid, good ſoundings to the very bottom. Fiſh are in vaſt plenty, particularly at Bankoka; no place abounds more with Liſſang, or Tambaddow, which are a ſpecies of wild

cattle

cattle much exceeding a bullock in magnitude; they are of different colours, and are very ſhy.——The Bankoka people ſay, that near Sampanmangio there are twenty or thirty herds, each herd containing from 30 to 100 head. Near the ſea there is a tank or graſſy marſh, and beyond that a plain ſavannah, where they haunt. In the marſh I ſaw the footſteps and freſh dung of vaſt numbers, and ſome of our people fired at the cattle. They are alſo in plenty at Bankoka, and in moſt other places of this neighbourhood. Wild-hogs and deer are in general in great numbers in all parts of this diſtrict, particularly at Sampanmangio, where the former are remarkably large.

The whole coaſt, from Towſan Abai to Sampanmangio has great plenty of *Neepa*, commonly uſed in this quarter for thatching houſes.

Rattans are in ſuch plenty, that annually might be had two or three ſhip's load of them from ten to twenty fathoms long.

Anneebon, or cabbage-trees, are no where more abundant; there is alſo plenty of *Dammer* and *wood-oil* trees, particularly adjoining to Sampanmangio.

Coolit-

Coolit-Lawang, or Clove-Bark, is found in great excellence at Bankoka; the tree grows on the mountains about a fathom in circumference, the wood is white, and fine grained, though ſoft; it, as well as the leaves, has the ſame ſmell as the bark.

Very rich *Teepye* * banks have been lately diſcovered in Malloodoo bay; the bottom is quite covered with the oiſters, but the ſea is very much infeſted with *blubbers*.

Beſides theſe *Teepye*, which have not been long known here, Malloodoo is famous for a *Capis* fiſhery; in ancient times many pearls were found here, at preſent not ſo many: the Capis ſeem little different, but in ſize, from the Teepye; they are only about four inches in diameter; few are without pearls, moſt of them have ſeveral, generally perfectly round, though commonly ſmall; the colour is different from the Teepye pearls; inſtead of that lucid white, they are generally of a fire colour, not yellow, but of a vivid tranſparency. In a parcel brought to Sooloo in 1764, by ſome Buggueſe from Malloodoo, there was one of a very fine white water, round, and pretty

* Teepye is the large pearl-oiſter.

large;

large; and alſo above ſixty fire-coloured perfectly round and extremely fine, though moſtly ſmall, from 1 to 7½ grains weight each.

They have alſo plenty of Syſeep in Malloodoo bay, which yield many pearls; theſe are the flat oiſter-ſhells uſed for windows.

At Bankoka there are great plenty of Bamboes, both ſmooth and prickly; of cocoanuts remarkably large, potatoes, yams, pumpkins, plantains, jacks, and other fruit, and the fineſt lemons I have ever ſeen, they are about ſix inches diameter, nearly round, though rather flatted at the ends, and yield a large portion of the moſt agreeable acid; they have alſo very fine honey, ſome wax, turmerick, and ſerré, or lemon graſs, from which an odoriferous oil is extracted in Amboina.

There is no where greater plenty of fine timber, either for maſts or ſhip-building; and on the ſhore near Sampanmangio lye ſome prodigious ſlabs of flat ſtone.

The chief of Bankoka promiſed to plant pepper in his diſtrict, for the cultivation whereof he deſcribed it to be well adapted.

3. PAITAN.

3. PAITAN. This diſtrict, terminated eaſtward by the Sooloo limit, is of leſs conſequence than Malloodoo, though not deſtitute of valuable productions; the chief are *camphir*, *agal-agal*, *ſea-ſlugs*, *tortoiſe-ſhell*, and ſome *birds-neſt*.

The *native-camphir* is no where in greater plenty than in this diſtrict, the tree grows very large, chiefly in the mountains: The wood is proper for all uſes. Beſides the reſin, divided into five kinds from flakes, as large as the point of a man's thumb, and perfectly white, to a powder of a browniſh hue, the tree yields an oil of a high golden colour; the people, who chiefly ſearch for camphir, are the natives of Cudat, Bankoko and Paitan; ſome is found in Malloodoo, but not in ſuch abundance as in this diſtrict, where, according to the information obtained by Dato Saraphodin, who was very particular in his enquiries of many Borneons, and others, well acquainted, at leaſt, ten pecul of camphir, and a hundred jars of oil, may be got annually.

The *agal-agal* is a ſea plant, diſſolvable in water, by which it is reduced to a gluti-

nous ſubſtance like congee. The Chineſe uſe it in their ſilk and paper manufactures, and for other uſes: they alſo eat it. It is very plentiful in almoſt all parts of this diſtrict.

Tortoiſe-ſhell is alſo very common.

The iſland Seemaddal, which forms the bay of Paitan on the north, is remarkable for abundance of *carooang*, or *wood-oil* trees; there being ſcarce any others on it except *camphir*, which are alſo very common. The *carooang* grow cloſe to the ſea.

The river of Paitan is of long courſe; a little way up it divides into two branches: the country abounds in *camphir*, has ſome *coolit-lawang*, and plenty of *liſſang*. This diſtrict particularly from Labook towards Sandakan abounds with deer.

4. FELICIA PROPER.

Balambangan has been already deſcribed.

Banguey, inhabited by about ſeventy Bajows, and 200 families of Idaan, has plenty of water, but it all turns ſour or brackiſh in great droughts, on which occaſions the natives come over for water to Balambangan. About Banguey is plenty of fiſh and *ſea-*

ſlugs, as alſo *manangky*, or *great-cockles*, and *agal-agal*; nor is there any where greater abundance of *tortoiſe-ſhell* than on the little iſlands and ſands adjoining to it. There are ſeveral iſlands of conſiderable extent cloſe to Banguey, on the ſouth and eaſt ſides, ſeparated from it by narrow channels; there are alſo others more remote: of theſe,

The Booloondangan, three ſmall iſlands to the eaſt of Banguey, are ſaid to have many *liſſang*.

Patanoonan has vaſt plenty of deer, *pee-landook*, and wild-hogs.

The Malleeangan iſlands are two in number; the largeſt has good water, and great plenty of deer: I ſaw their dung on the weſt ſide of the iſland.

Callootan, adjoining to Balambangan, is alſo ſaid to have many deer.

To the ſouth-eaſt of Banguey lies a pleaſant iſland named Mallawallee; it is five miles in extent; part of it is very woody, part of it graſs land, but rocky; it has very fine water, but I ſaw no appearance of animals; it is uninhabited; the hills on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, which are cleared,

are

are covered with a rich red ſoil, very fat, and feeling ſoapy between the fingers.

Balabac, in front of Balambangan, on the north ſide of the ſtrait, is remarkable for the vain pretenſions of the Spaniards to it, in right of a ceſſion in 1752 from the king of Borneo, to whom it did *not* belong. The Spaniards ſay they found large *pearl-oiſters* in a fine bay on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; this port is named Dallawan by the natives: there are about 300 inhabitants on the iſland, in which number the report of the Spaniards agrees with that of ſultan Banteelan, who ſaid it produces *wax*, *cowries*, *tortoiſe-ſhell*, *ſea-ſlugs*, and *rice*. Fiſh are in very great plenty at Dallawan, which has a fine ſandy beach. The iſlands adjoining to Balabac yield plenty of *poot*, or *ſoft dammer*, particularly Apo, near to which there is a fine *teepye-bank*.

The Cagayan-Soloo iſlands form a cluſter ſevered from the reſt. They were viſited by the *Victory* in the firſt voyage round the world, and are mentioned in the relation of that voyage; though the Spaniards have erroneouſly applied this circumſtance to the Cagayan-Caſtella, being ignorant of any

other. The chief of the Cagayan Soloo iſlands, to which the name properly is confined, is about ten miles in extent; it is the only one conſtantly inhabited.

5. PALAWAN.

Although the greateſt part of this iſland belongs to the Felician diſtricts, there is not room to enter into a minute deſcription of it. The natives, in the part ſubject to Sooloo, amount to about 2000, according to the information I have received: they go naked, except a clout about their middles: moſt of them are *ſcaly*, which is a kind of diſtemper common in this quarter and the ſouthern Philipinas. There are alſo 150 Bajow veſſels: the Bajows are fiſhermen commonly belonging to the ſultan and the chief Sooloos, and are employed in the various kinds of fiſheries, as in that for *pearls*, for *ſea-ſlugs*, *cowries*, &c. The eaſtern coaſt of Palawan is beſt inhabited, and therefore moſt reſorted to.

The country in general is deſcribed to be plain and flat to the bottom of the hills, and no country in this quarter to be ſuperior to it: it yields plenty of *rice*; it abounds with *ebany*, *lacka-wood*, *damner*, *beetle-nut*,

nut, *rattans*, *canes*, reckoned the fineſt in the world, *cowries*, *ſea-ſlugs*, *manangky*, *tortoiſe-ſhell*, *wax*, *gum-anemee* or *copal*, the Sooloos alſo purchaſe ſlaves here; the natives manufacture the *tindook* or *plantain-cloth*; and lately *birds-neſt* has been found. At preſent ſome diſpute ſubſiſts between the natives and Tirooneſe who collected it, whereby the large caves are not ranſacked. The natives will not ſhew or permit the Tironeſe to ſeek for them. Theſe caves are ſituated on the weſtern ſide oppoſite to Ypoloté. The natives on that ſide are Negritos, with whom the people of Ypoloté have ſome intercourſe; but they are not very converſable. The Palawan *birds-neſt* is whiter than the tiroon, but not ſo much eſteemed by the Chineſe.

There has alſo lately been found great plenty of *ſalt-petre* on Palawan, adjoining to Caneepaan, which lyes on the weſt coaſt near the ſouth point of the iſland; it is inhabited by Bajows, and is reported to have a good ſmall harbour. The Spaniards ſay they found many *teepye-ſhells* on this coaſt. There are five or ſix places

where the ſalt-petre is found; one very large cave in the mountain is above 100 fathoms broad; and if there were the proper implements, 1000 *cawans* might be had from thence in a year, ten *gantas* of earth yielding one and a half of *petre*.

Peelang, on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, two days ſail from Balambangan, has plenty of cattle.

Tagby-yoog, a large bay on the weſt ſide, to the northward of Caneepaan, has many iſlands in it, and yields much *ſea-ſlug*.

To the ſouthward is Pampangduyon, ſo called as it has ſteep cliffs, and no landing.

It would be to little purpoſe to mention the names of a few places of which nothing particular is known: according to the Spaniards, the coaſt from Balabac to Ypoloté, in 8° 45′ north, runs eaſt-north-eaſt. This place is remarkable for plenty of fiſh, and is about ninety miles from Balabac.

The natives on the weſt ſide, except at Caneepaan, are very ſavage, chiefly Negritos; they ſeldom viſit the coaſt, but keep in the mountains.

Perhaps

Perhaps no place in the world is more infeſted with ſhoals than this iſland; the Spaniards indeed report that there is a fine channel between the eaſt coaſt and the many ſhoals which lye off it: the ſame is ſaid by the Chineſe of the weſt coaſt. On the northernmoſt of the ſhoals on this coaſt, which is above water with a few buſhes, it is ſaid a French ſhip was loſt, coming from Manila with money.

Having ſhewn that Balambangan is extremely convenient in ſituation for the general port of Felicia, it is now to be conſidered as relative to the Sooloo dominions. To explain this, a curſory view of the Sooloo empire may be requiſite.

The capital is ſituated in 5° 58′ north latitude, and in 121° 25′ eaſt longitude from London, on an iſland thirty miles long and twelve broad, in the center of a numerous chain extending from the Philipinas to Borneo. Of this range, two other iſlands, Baſſeelan and Tawee-Tawee, are held to be as big as Sooloo.

The Sooloo empire, beſides this Archipelago, comprehends a large portion of Borneo from Towſan Abai, which is the

Felician limit, to Kanneeoongan on the eaſt ſide of Borneo in 0° 50′ north latitude: on the ſouth theſe diſtricts are ſeparated from Koety by the ſavage-coaſt, and on the weſt they are confined by the interior part of Borneo, inhabited by Idaan.

Without particularly deſcribing the Sooloo archipelago, I ſhall proceed to the Sooloo dominions on Borneo, as the object moſt important, and moſt intimately connected with Felicia. They are divided into two diſtricts; Tiroon and Mangeedara: the firſt extends from Kanneeoongan to Siboocoo; the laſt from Siboocoo to Towſan-Abai.

Tiroon. The coaſt of this diſtrict is low mangrovy land; the mountains, very diſtant in ſhore, are inhabited by Idaan; the whole country is covered with the *ſago-trees*, which, being the chief ſuſtenance of the inhabitants, they plant in great numbers every year; the rivers are many, ſome very large and navigable; moſt of them come from the lake of Keeney-Balloo.

The produce of the country is chiefly *ſago* and *birds-neſt*, both which are in great abundance and perfection; it alſo yields

yields *wax*, *canes*, *rattans*, *matts*, *honey*, *goolega* or *bezoar*, *ſea-ſlugs*, and ſome parts of it *gold*; and it is affirmed, there is alſo great plenty of *ſalt-petre*.

Tapeandurian or Tapedurian, is the firſt river; the natives are ill-diſpoſed to ſtrangers.

Samontaij, a ſmall river, is the next; then

Dumaring, which is a conſiderable place; the river has a ſhallow bar, off it are many banks, where much *ſea-ſlug* is found.

Barow or Curan, as it is indiſcriminately called from different places on it, is a very large deep river; the natives of Tuollee on Selebes, carry on a conſiderable trade hither in coco-nuts, and, according to their report, the country yields much *birds-neſt*, and many other valuable commodities: The Sooloos agree, that it is a very large river, but deny its being a place of much conſequence. The river is in the bottom of a deep bay. Barow is an independant ſtate in alliance with Sooloo, the other ſubject to Sooloo.

Baroongan or Booloongan is a large river; it was formerly under Paſſir: it yields much *gold*, a very rich mine having been lately diſcovered, and *earth-oil*.

Sicatack

Sicatack or Lalawang is a fine bay: into which fall the ſmall rivers of Talangang and Mantabuling; it yields a hundred pecul black *birds-neſt*, and a little white.

Leeleedong is a large river; it is capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips: the country is very populous. It is called ſometimes

Leo and Leedong from different places ſituated on it inland; it produces much *paddy*, which they ſell, living themſelves, as in other parts of Tiroon, on *ſago*. There are many iſlands cloſe to this part of the coaſt; one of them, named

Tarakkan, yields annually twenty or thirty jars of *earth-oil*.

Sambacoong is a large river, though leſs than Leo; it has, according to Banteelan's account, 10,000 people, and yields twenty-five pecul of *birds-neſt*, *wax*, &c.

Sibocoo river is larger than Sambacoong, though it is ſaid to have ſome ſhoals at the entrance; the current is very rapid, ſo that the tide only ſlackens the ſtream, never running up. According to Allamodin, it yields forty pecul, but, according to Banteelan, ſixty pecul of *birds-neſt*, a hundred pecul *wax*, very fine *ſago*, &c. there are

1000 people, and inland more than thirty towns.

Maratua iſland yields *ſea-ſlug*, *manangky*, ſome *teepye*, curious *coralines*, and great plenty of *coolit-lawang*; there being ſcarce any other trees on the iſland.

MANGEEDARA, this diſtrict, the moſt eaſtern of Borneo, extends itſelf towards the Sooloo archipelago in a long narrow point, called Unſang. The productions are, *birds-neſt*, *wax*, *dammer*, and plenty of very fine *gold*; particularly at Talaſſam, within Geeong, though the river diſembogues on the north, between Tambeeſan and Sandakan.

There are ſeveral rivers in this diſtrict, but none very conſiderable, except Kinabatangan; Mangeedara, in general, abounds with cattle, particularly at Babatoo, on the ſouth coaſt of Unſang, and at Pallas, near Siboocoo; but at Coopang, there are thouſands of cattle mixed with ſome horſes and Liſſang: They have made a rutt about a fathom deep, which leads to the ſea-ſhore, ſo that any number may be catched by ſtopping it up, as there is no other paſſage.

The coaſt from thence to Geeong Bay is divided into many iſlands, and other iſlands

lye

lye without them. The moſt remarkable of theſe are,

Poolo Gaya, which has many deer, and
Seeparran, plenty of green-turtle.

Unſang terminates eaſtward in a bluff point, at the north-eaſt part whereof is a ſmall iſland, named Tambeeſan, forming a harbour capable of admitting ſhips of conſiderable ſize.

The north coaſt of Unſang has many bays and good ſoundings along ſhore, but no ſhelter in the northerly winds: There are on this coaſt the mouths of many rivers, thirty in number from Tambeeſan to Sandakan, all of them, except Marooap, branches of the Kinabatangan river, which is very large, and comes from the lake of Keeney-Balloo. The four weſtern mouths are the moſt conſiderable, and of theſe the laſt; it is named Towſan Abai, and is the limit of Felicia.

The eaſtern part of Unſang abounds with wild elephants, which have not yet extended themſelves to the other parts of Borneo.

The productions of the Sooloo dominions, in general, may be claſſed under four ranks:

1. Ar-

1. Articles of conſiderable value, but ſuch as are either in no great abundance, or take little room on ſhip-board.

2. Staples, which muſt form the cargoes.

3. Goods, which may hereafter become ſtaples; but, as in no demand, at preſent are in ſmall quantities.

4. Some productions which may be uſeful to the commerce, but can ſcarcely be reckoned articles of trade.

FIRST CLASS.

	Soloo Language.	
Gold,	Boo-awan	extremely fine and plentiful in Mangindara and Tiroon.
Pearls	Moo-tya	many of the fineſt water.
Tortoiſe-ſhell	Seeſick	in great plenty.
Camphir	Capall	in great abundance on Borneo.
Gum-anemee, or copal	Tenjoo	in conſiderable quantities.
Bezoar	Goolega	conſiderable quantities; the beſt worth at Paſſir, eight times its weight in ſilver.
Birds-neſt	Saangan-Boo-ong	in great plenty.
Wax	Taloo	

Plantain-

Plantain-cloth	Tindook Maſſooroong	
Lack - - - -		little only.
Ambergris - - -		little.
Civet - - - -		little.

SECOND CLASS. Staples.

Mother of Pearl	Teepye	
Sago	Landang	
Rattans	Oowy	
Canes	Malao	
Cowries	Buſky	
Ebany	Atta-atta	
Sea-ſlug	Baat	(called *becha-de-mar*. by Mallays Tripang, Philipinas Balata.)
Cockles, (call'd *humba* by Chineſe)	Manangky, or Keema	
Sharks-fins	Seeketan	
Sea-weed (call'd *hyſy* by Chineſe)	Agal-agal	
Beetle-nut	Poolla	
Lacka-wood	Kaio-lacka	*qu.* logwood.
Dammer, or country roſin	Booleetick	

THIRD

THIRD CLASS.

Of which large quantities may be had in ſome time.

Cinnamon	Manna - grows ſpontaneous.
Pepper	Myſa
Salt-petre	
Clove-bark	Coolit-lawang
Ginger	Loya
Sapan-wood	Sibucow
Cacao	Cacao
Dying-woods	Cudarang, Bankal, Nanka, &c.
Sugar	
Soft-dammer	Poote
Wheat	
Rice	Boogaſs
Cotton	Kapaſs
Sandal-wood	Kaio-chindana
Red-wood	
Indigo	Ty-yoong
Coffee.	

FOURTH CLASS.

Timber of various kinds, fit for ſhip-building, and all other uſes, in any quantity, viz. teak, nara, lawawn or poone, black-wood, mahogany, malawee, bintangol, dongon, calaotit, palo-maria or alexandrian lawrel, banaba, &c.

Balibagoo	of the bark is made ſmall cordage exactly like hemp.
Gumatty	excellent for cables.
Wood-oil	Carooang.
Earth-oil	
Coconut-oil	Lahing.
Honey	Tenoob.

From this view it will appear, that the commerce to be expected from the Sooloo dominions, is by no means inconſiderable; and Balambangan will, for the Sooloos, be a more convenient emporium than Sooloo itſelf; as the general communication with the Sooloo diſtricts is more eaſy from Balambangan than from Sooloo: Beſides, as

ſome of the moſt intelligent Sooloos juſtly obſerved, by carrying the produce of the Borneo diſtricts to Balambangan, they can eaſily collect another cargo of ſome kind in that neighbourhood, which would turn to account at Balambangan; whereas at preſent, after bringing the Borneo goods to Sooloo, they cannot employ themſelves, as there are few articles of commerce which are the immediate produce of Sooloo.

Conſidering Balambangan in the more extended view, it would be proper to examine the ſeveral other Borneon ſtates; but to do this with preciſion, would require much time; and, indeed, reference to the old records of the Company, as the verbal information I have received is not ſufficient, and the few accounts which are publiſhed, ſeldom exact enough to be relied on. However it may be proper to mention, that the Spaniards, who were at Borneo Proper in 1752, informed me, that great quantities of pepper are produced there, and that a large ſhip might get a cargo in four months. Some of the natives whom I have met, aſſured me, that the territories, under the juriſdiction of the Sultan of Borneo, extending from Keemannees

to Tanjong Dato, produce *diamonds, gold, pepper,* &c. The Chineſe annually reſort thither, particularly from Limpo; at preſent there is a civil-war, ſo that lately only one or two Junks have been at Borneo in a ſeaſon; but, about five years ago, there uſed to be four or five Junks annually; however, great part of the cargoes were the produce of the diſtricts under the dominion of Sooloo.

Koety, which on the eaſt of the iſland Borneo confines with the Sooloo dominions, is a place of great conſequence. The river which comes from the lake of Keeney-Balloo is very large, and forms many iſlands at its mouth. The country under this juriſdiction contains a million of people, chiefly inland; it produces *diamonds, gold,* great quantities of *wax, earth-oil, colit-lawang,* and plenty of *grain.*

Having thus deſcribed the advantages which Balambangan will by its ſituation derive from the Sooloo dominions, and Borneo in general; it is next to be conſidered as the *emporium* to the more diſtant parts of the eaſtern countries. This remote intercourſe may be arranged under four heads, Chineſe, Buggueſe, Mallayo and Phillippin.

The Chineſe navigation has already been conſidered in p. 13 to 17.

Beſides the Chineſe, none of the orientals equal the Buggueſe for extenſive commerce. They have penetrated to New-Holland on the ſouth, and to Papua on the eaſt; they alſo voyage to Bencoolen, Quedah, Manila, and to all the intermediate countries. Paſſir, on the eaſt-ſide of Borneo, is at preſent, in great meaſure, their emporium; and though in itſelf an inconſiderable place, yielding few commodities, yet, by the many Buggueſe who reſort thither, it is become a place of much conſequence; for, on that account, ſeveral veſſels from Batavia, and other parts of Java, (though none of the Dutch Company's are admitted) bring *piece-goods*, which are from thence diſtributed over all the Oriental Polyneſia, even ſo far as Papua and New-Holland; and the returning commodities carried from Paſſir to Batavia, Manila, &c.

As great part of the Buggueſe traffick is, in the eyes of the Dutch, clandeſtine, and carried on to countries where they are very jealous of intruders, there is an evident neceſſity for ſome neutral port.

Paſſir ſerves for this purpoſe; but it is obvious that from hence muſt ariſe an inſuperable inconvenience, as the Paſſir prices muſt be higher than thoſe of Batavia; and therefore, as the Buggueſe have no juriſdiction at Paſſir, where they are as much aliens as they would be amongſt us, they moſt certainly would remove their emporium to Balambangan; and very ſoon become our carriers to thoſe places, where either European connections or accidental circumſtances may forbid our appearance. The navigation to Balambangan is very commodious for the Buggueſe proas; and they now paſs it in their way to Borneo Proper.

Under the denomination of Mallayo not only the Mallayos are to be conſidered, but in general what commerce is, or may be, carried on to the weſtward. The natives of Malloodoo and Papal voyage in their own veſſels to Java, Malacca, *&c.* I have been informed by ſome who have reſided long at Malacca, that all the *ſago* ſold there is brought from Borneo: I had imagined it was the production of Malacca. In 1762 a trading veſſel from Camboja was at Abai, as well as ſome from Borneo Proper.

per. The Sooloos have alſo ſometimes viſited Billiton, where, according to their reports, are very rich mines of *tin*, *lead*, and *iron*. The little diſtance between Balambangan and the eaſtern part of the Mallayo peninſula recommends it as a general port for that ſide, and for the dominions of Siam, from whence conſiderable quantities of *pepper* and *tin* may be procured. It is obvious from what has been hinted, that the commerce with all the countries to the weſtward will be eaſily extended, and that there cannot be a more convenient ſtation for that purpoſe than Balambangan. It is not the view of theſe pages to enter into a diſcuſſion of the commerce in the countries between China and the ſtrait of Malacca: it muſt however be mentioned, that Mr. Bowyer, in his curious account of Cochin-China, which I have in manuſcript, thinks a large quantity of *broad-cloth* may be vended in Laos by the way of Camboja.

It is not leſs certain that a very advantageous commerce would be carried on with the Philipinas. The regulations at Manila are ſo little favourable to merchants, and the exactions and oppreſſions ſo great, that

the trade from the provinces is inconſiderable, except for proviſions, and is chiefly monopolized by the Alcaldés: but were there an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan, the Indians would find their way hither with the productions of their country, and at home induſtry would be awakened by finding a reward to labour. In the ſouthern iſlands are many Meſtizos, and ſome Chineſe, who carry on a trade from port to port; theſe would of courſe be drawn to Balambangan. The trade of the ſouthern Philipinas is indeed greatly incommoded by the Mooriſh rovers of Magindanao; but even this inconvenience would be much leſſened, were there ſuch an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan.

At preſent the Spaniards at Manila ſend annually one or two veſſels to Batavia for European manufactures, *&c.* the vicinity of ſuch an eſtabliſhment of ours would alter the channel of this commerce, and greatly extend it. At the ſame time the trade at preſent carried on from India to Manila would be driven to much greater advantage at Balambangan than at Manila; and this branch would be again got out of the hands

of

of the Portugueſe. Though Manila will take off conſiderable quantities of European goods, the chief part of this commerce muſt be in the manufactures of India.

Having now taken a view of the advantages of Balambangan as an emporium to the oriental Polyneſia, this head may be concluded with obſerving, that the Dutch, ſenſible of their true intereſt in India, very judiciouſly made the ſeat of government in the *South-Seas*, as the *oriental Polyneſia* was formerly called, foreſeeing the infinite emolument from the excluſive vent of cotton cloths in the eaſtern iſlands, and from the vicinity to China: they are ſo ſtrict in ſecuring the former, that cloth-manufactures are prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties, where they have any juriſdiction; and the ſale of thoſe from Indoſtan are now entirely reſerved to the Company.

Second.

To procure to the Company, by cultivation or commerce, a ſhare in the ſpice-trade.

Under the denomination of ſpices may be ranked *cinnamon*, *cloves*, *nutmegs*, *clove-bark*, and *pepper*.

The *cinnamon* growing ſpontaneouſly at Sooloo, and in the Soloo diſtricts on Borneo, nothing but time and encouragement are wanting to enſure any quantity.

Without inſiſting on the report that *cloves* grow in the Sooloo diſtricts, there is not the leaſt doubt the plants would be ſpeedily introduced, if we had an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan: the Buggueſe have given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that they will bring plants, which is very practicable: and although ſome intended for me in 1764 died after the perſon had kept them ſome months, the ſame ill ſucceſs is not always to be expected.

Nutmegs are not ſo eaſily obtained, fewer places produce them, and therefore the difficulty of getting is greater: ſome ſay they are to be got on Ouby, others at Sallywatty; the Buggueſe promiſed to uſe their endeavours to procure them, but would not engage for the ſucceſs. Quiros reports them to be in plenty on Manicola, or Tierra del Sp°. Santo.

Clove-bark is no where more excellent than at Bankoka in Malloodoo-bay, Maratua, and many other places in the Sooloo diſtricts

diſtricts alſo produce it; and it is ſaid ſhiploads may be had at Koety.

Pepper growing in plenty on the northern parts of Borneo, nothing is wanting but a regular demand to enſure any quantity. The natives of Bankoka have promiſed to cultivate it; and had we an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan, all the inhabitants of the adjoining diſtricts would do the ſame.

Third.

To extend the ſcene of traffick into the unfrequented extremities of Aſia.

The *central* ſituation of Balambangan points it out as the fitteſt place from whence to purſue this great object: the meaſures for effecting it muſt depend in great meaſure on the conduct and capacity of the perſon who is at the head of the eſtabliſhment. Enough has been ſaid under the general conſideration of Balambangan to convey an idea; to do more, a volume would be requiſite; and perhaps even the moſt full diſcuſſion would be ineffectual without particular ſtudy of the ſubject.

However, a few words may not be amiſs of ſome countries not much known, particularly the Myangees, Papua, and New-Holland,

Holland, from the information of the Bugueſe, *&c.* and of the Lewkewos, *&c.* from the reports of the Chineſe and others.

The firſt, ſituated to the eaſtward of Magindanao, appear to be the St. John's iſlands of the old charts. Dampier, who brought a prince of theſe iſlands to England, informs us from him, that they are three iſlands, producing plenty of *gold*, *cloves*, and *nutmegs*. Some perſons from Tamontaca, or Magindanao-Proper, report, that ſome years ago a boat from theſe iſlands was driven thither, where a lad aboard of that boat, though then very young, was a ſlave in 1763: from his account they deſcribed the iſlands to abound in *gold*, *tortoiſe-ſhell*, and *mother-of-pearl*. The ſultan of Magindanao, on this occaſion, ſent ſome people to examine them; but the currents, being very ſtrong about the iſlands, frightened his people from proceeding thither. The iſlands have plenty of *yams*, but no *rice*. The Dutch charts deſcribe them to form an excellent harbour. Some Dutch charts deſcribe an iſland on the ſouth of Magindanao as the *true* Myangees, and call the three iſlands the *Engliſh* Myangees.

A very

A very ſenſible old man, whom I met at Sooloo in 1762, informed me that he had, many years ago, made ſeven voyages to Papua for *ſea-ſlug*, or *becha-de-mar*, which they do not purchaſe, but gather themſelves. The people of Sallywatty, on the ſouth ſide of the Pitt's ſtrait, have many *ſmall cloves*, which are the beſt, and *nutmegs* alſo: the natives are not to be truſted: ſome are Mahometans, and underſtand the Malayo language; others are ſavage; but both treacherous: theſe iſlands are very populous; and in his opinion a ſhip might get a lading in three or four months: the free-burghers of Ternaté trade thither. At Wygeeüe there is a fine harbour; the water within looks white, but is of good depth, from fifteen to five fathoms: there is much *ſea-ſlug*, *birds-neſt*, *tortoiſe-ſhell*, and *teepye*; but the natives are not *divers*. He had been informed there are alſo *cloves* at Wygeeüe, but never was aſhore there: the following is his account of the goods proper for Papua.

Long-cloth ordinary	White
Ditto	Blue

Cambays

Cambays
Red Handkerchiefs
Coarſe Chints
Chinde Banang
Beads of all kinds
Hatchets
Large Knives.

The Buggueſe deſcribe New Holland to yield *gold*, and the natives, who are Mahometans, to be well inclined to commerce: this muſt be referred to the northern part, which ſeems to be what Marco-Polo calls Lochae: he ſays it is very rich and great, producing plenty of *Brazil-wood*, and much *gold*. Geographers aſcribe to the Portugueſe in early times the diſcovery of a country in this quarter named Lucat, yielding *gold*: this is probably the ſame country Marco-Polo calls Lochae.

The Lewkewo iſlands are ſituated between Formoſa and Japan: an account of them has been publiſhed in the *Lettres edifiantes*, (vol. 28.) but the account I have received from a Chineſe pilot is conſiderably different: he told me the Amoy junks have ſometimes gone thither, but not to trade.

The

The country abounds with cattle and goats; it has great plenty of very fine *rice*; but the natives have no commerce with the Chineſe, of whom they are very jealous, confining them in the manner cuſtomary in Japan. There is a very good port, and the natives are inclined to commerce: linguiſts may be had from Amoy: he imagines the natives would be glad to trade with us: the country has no forts.

I was informed by a Jeſuit father at Macao, who had ſeen ſome people from the Lewkewos at Pekin, that they are fair-complexioned; but a manuſcript journal of a French ſhip, who paſt theſe iſlands in 1714, deſcribes the natives, who came off to them in boats, to be olive-coloured: the Jeſuit father ſaid the language is the ſame as the Korean.

Theſe iſlands are deſcribed by Kempher to be governed by a prince of the Japaneſe empire: the jeſuits ſay they pay obeiſance to China. The memoir in the *Lettres edifiantes* ſpeaks very favourably of their veſſels, in which they ſometimes voyage to Tongkin and Cochin-China: if ſo, they may undoubtedly be drawn to Balambangan, and by

by this channel an intercourſe with Japan and Korea.

The laſt is deſcribed to be extremely populous; it is in extent equal to France: no Europeans have ever carried on a direct trade thither; the commerce between China and Korea is very conſiderable; the Koreans bring a fine *thin paper*, ſmooth and white; a *coarſe paper* made of *raw-ſilk*, very thick, ſmooth, even, and ſtrong, uſed in China inſtead of glaſs for windows; a *paper*, thick, fine, and ſmooth, with large figures emboſſed in gold and ſilver, uſed for hangings; *fine mats* of all colours, *ſtriped cottons* of various ſorts, *furs*, *yellow varniſh* that ſhines like gold, *iron* and *ſteel wares*, *dried fiſh*, *tobacco*, *gold* and *ſilver*. They carry from China great quantities of *raw-ſilk* and *damaſk*, *tea*, *china-ware*, *cotton*, and *white copper* veſſels. The Koreans ſeem to carry on a trade with Yetſo, which country is deſcribed to abound in *gold* and *ſilver*.

Fourth.

To direct the Chineſe trade into a more advantageous channel.

Having

Having treated this ſubject circumſtantially, (p. 13 to 17.) it is unneceſſary to repeat in this place what has been ſaid already.

Fifth.

Of a colony by the acceſſion of Chineſe. &c.

Colonies and new ſettlements of every kind muſt be attended in their infancy with difficulties; but although we are not to expect an exemption from them in this inſtance, the vicinity of China, from whence all neceſſaries, for an infant-eſtabliſhment, may be had with greater conveniency and leſs expence, than from any place out of Europe, makes the difficulties of ſuch an undertaking here, leſs than almoſt any where elſe; add to this the neighbourhood of countries abounding with proviſions, which takes away every apprehenſion of ſcarcity.

Few places in Aſia, but would admit the formation of a colony, by the admiſſion of the natives from the ſeveral adjoining countries, but no place has equal advantages as Balambangan.

The

The plauſible objection made to colonies, as draining the mother-country of its inhabitants, loſes its force in the eſtabliſhment propoſed at Balambangan; that the number of induſtrious people is the true riches of a ſtate, ſeems to be a point beyond diſpute, and, on that principle, colonies formed by the acceſſion of foreigners, muſt be admitted as a matter of the utmoſt importance; ſince, in a commercial view, one ſubject abroad is of more benefit than two at home, and as ſuch colonies are entirely a new-acquiſition.

That the *maritime* provinces, at leaſt, of China, are at preſent over-ſtocked with people, is a point ſcarce to be diſputed; however, it is obvious, the Chineſe are prompt to leave their country; and I have had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from ſeveral of them, that had we an eſtabliſhment in this quarter, we might have what numbers we pleaſed to ſettle with us, either as mechanicks, ſailors, or for the cultivation of *pepper*, *ſugar*, *grain*, &c. The conſequence of a colony merely as a vent for manufactures is very great, and, indeed, a flouriſhing colony would, in a ſhort time, conſume very

large quantities of European manufactures, if we endeavour to introduce our cuſtoms and dreſs, ſo far as climate and circumſtances will permit, or by a well-judged conformity to adopt theirs, when the means thus offer of effecting a purpoſe ſo deſirable.

In every colony, the inſtitution of manufactures, ought ſtrictly to be watched; but a colony in the East-Indies, muſt be regulated by laws different from all others. The chief growth muſt be in the acceſſion of people from the adjoining countries.—— Uſeful members in a community, are only ſuch as are induſtrious: The induſtrious muſt all have occupations, and can remove only in hopes of proſecuting them to more advantage, or in greater ſecurity, than at home. So that, though an attentive eye is neceſſary, no poſitive regulation can be made.

No place is better adapted for the cultivation of pepper, ſugar, rice, &c. than this quarter; fertile by climate and ſituation, this part of Borneo has the benefit of navigable rivers for the tranſportation of the commodities produced in the country, as

well ſugar, &c. as timber and other natural productions.

I have now gone through the general view of the advantages attending Balambangan, as a commercial capital; and preſume it muſt be obvious, that pepper, and the finer ſpices for the European and Indian conſumption may be cultivated to any extent, and that the accumulation of commerce would be very great.

Before I cloſe this ſubject, it is to be obſerved, the two great gulphs into which all the branches of the Indian trade at laſt diſembogue, are China and Indoſtan: From theſe two countries, if we except the ſpices, not only the inveſtment for Europe, but the Indian trade alſo, are, almoſt entirely, derived, ſo that the influence of ſuch an eſtabliſhment as here propoſed at Balambangan, muſt be inexpreſſible, if conſidered as the ſource from whence Indoſtan will be ſupplied with ſpices, &c. and china with theſe and the various other productions of the Oriental Polyneſia, which are in great demand there, though in little eſtimation elſewhere, as birds-neſt, &c. and as the productions of Indoſtan yield a great

profit

profit in the Polyneſia, the returns are made with accumulated gain; and hence not only the commodities purchaſed for Europe from the Chineſe, with theſe returns from the Polyneſia, come much cheaper than if purchaſed with bullion, but the exportation of our home manufactures is increaſed, by being enabled to diſpoſe of them at lower rates, in conſequence of the profits ariſing from this circulating commerce. Indeed, other countries in the neighbourhood of Balambangan, beſides China, will take off woollens and other manufactures from England, in very conſiderable quantities.

As it is indiſputable, a well-regulated eſtabliſhment would ſoon be crouded with induſtrious Chineſe; a very few years would place the colony at Balambangan in a ſituation the moſt favourable that could be wiſhed. The great abundance of excellent timber for ſhip-building, and the number of ſailors that China, &c. would afford, muſt enable the inhabitants of Balambangan to extend their commerce to the utmoſt length; it is a matter which requires attention, whether it may not be proper to

permit the Company to build large ſhips at Balambangan for the Europe trade; as it is alledged, the timber fit for ſuch ſhips interferes at home with the navy-yards. Such an indulgence would greatly promote the collecting carpenters from China, and if it was even reſtrained to a few ſhips, and a certain number of years, it would be of great uſe.

Beſides the infinite commercial advantages of this eſtabliſhment immediate, as ariſing from itſelf, and indirectly as adminiſtring to the general welfare of the Company's other ſettlements, and of the mother-country, very great political advantages may be derived from it.

It was very juſtly obſerved by the Company almoſt a century ago, that the Dutch authority in the Eaſt-Indies was not obtained by land-forces from Europe, but by a proper exertion of their naval-power, and by the aſſiſtance of the natives of the eaſtern iſlands, whom they employed in all their conqueſts.

This hint points out the uſe to be made of the natives of this quarter for the ſecurity of our influence in Indoſtan: The in-

 habitants

habitants of all the iſlands to the eaſtward of Java, are diſtinguiſhed for their intrepidity, but none more remarkably than the natives of Celebes: During our broils with the Dutch, in ancient times, their fidelity and attachment were ſhewn on many occaſions, and the Company's records of that time fully clear them from that treachery of character which is aſcribed, perhaps too generally, to many nations in the Polyneſia: To theſe ancient teſtimonies, I may add a modern one; in their laſt war, the natives, who had debts in trade due to the Dutch at Macaſſar, ſent full payment of all theſe debts before they commenced hoſtilities. Men, with ſuch ſtrict principles of honour, will not bear any fraudulent deceit, but may be ſafely relied on, when treated with candour and temper. Their government being feudal, the people are ſtrictly attached to their chiefs, whilſt governed with familiarity, and are ready to embark with him as a *follower*, not a *ſlave*, in any enterprize wherein the advantage of the *individual* is conſidered, as well as that of their *leader*; at the ſame time they are docile in arms, and capable

of embodied diſcipline. From the number of inhabitants on Celebes, and the natural turn of this people to war, it will always be in the power of Balambangan to contract with certain chiefs for the ſervice of bodies of men to be employed for a limited term in Indoſtan; and if the articles of agreement are punctually fulfilled on the ſide of the Engliſh, and they find themſelves not treated with that odious ſuperiority, which too much prevails with Europeans over the natives in all parts of India; there is no ſervice however hardy, which they will not perform with the utmoſt courage and alacrity: The very nature of their contract ſtipulating their return at a certain period, together with the reciprocal independance of their reſpective chiefs, will prevent them from becoming formidable to their employers, as armies of conquered natives muſt always be. Nor was there ever a time when ſuch a reſource of power was ſo much wanted, nor when there was a more favourable ſituation for effecting it; and by making Balambangan a repoſitory for training theſe recruits to the European diſcipline, a very great ſecurity would devolve

to

to the infant eſtabliſhment without a military charge.

The Buggueſe are alſo able navigators, and, in this view, would be very aſſiſtant in forming a naval power; but mariners may probably be had in ſwarms from the Carolinas and adjoining iſlands, at preſent ſcarce more than known to be crouded with people; and they who have heard of the Ladrone flying proas, need not be informed how dextrous theſe people would become when inſtructed by the Engliſh.

To enumerate every ſource of power, could only be done by mentioning almoſt every ſpot; but for a diſtinct view of Celebes, which will always turn the ſcale of the Oriental Empire, reference muſt be had to the Memoir on that ſubject, which I communicated to the Company in 1764.

Having gone through the general view of what may be expected from an eſtabliſhment at Balambangan, it is now to be conſidered, what meaſures are *immediately* neceſſary, and what general regulations are requiſite to enſure a probability of ſucceſs.

It muſt be obvious to every one, that the Engliſh, in forming new-eſtabliſhments,

have been more impeded by unforeſeen difficulties than any other nation. Various reaſons may be aſſigned for the unexpected difficulties which occur in ſuch enterprizes, though few of them are confined to any individual nation: The moſt common and moſt conſiderable ſources ſeem to be incapacity in the perſon entruſted with the management, and the want of due previous examination of the place.

In diſcovery expeditions, from the ignorance of the object in purſuit, there is ſcarce room to lay down a regular plan; but as eſtabliſhments may be ſuppoſed the reſult of former obſervations, it certainly is not only neceſſary to lay down a plan of what is propoſed by the eſtabliſhment; the inducements to it; and the moſt probable means of ſucceſs; but if the obſervations be incomplete, a previous ſurvey ſeems to be requiſite to determine the place beſt adapted to anſwer the purpoſe of the expedition, whether as a commercial capital, a trading factory, or merely as a port.

The general knowledge of Balambangan is ſufficient to determine all theſe points in its favour; but the particular ſpot of the iſland moſt elegible, cannot be decided without

without a very particular examination and ſome experience: there is hardly a poſſibility that accident ſhould point out the ſpot beſt adapted for the eſtabliſhment; and if that is not fixed on, endleſs inconveniencies will be entailed on it: This choice is perhaps one of the moſt difficult points to be determined; neither to forego the future convenience for preſent eaſe, nor to attempt in the beginning what is impoſſible to execute, requires a deep conſideration of the preſent powers and future proſpects. Every removal muſt be fatal, by diſcouraging the people and expoſing them to new fatigues; at the ſame time that ſuch inſtability cannot fail to leſſen their confidence in their chief.

A circumſtance abſolutely requiſite to ſecure ſucceſs is a due and regular aſſiſtance. Perhaps, to the want of this, our particular ill-ſucceſs has been more owing than to any other defect, as all our attempts have been made from our capital eſtabliſhments.

There is hardly to be found an inſtance, where a troop of emigrants going in queſt of a new-home, under a leader of their own election, have failed to grow conſiderable in their habitation: Knowing they had

had no reſource but in their own virtue, they conformed themſelves to circumſtances, and ſoon ſurmounted every difficulty: But a colony or new-ſettlement being under orders and reſtrictions, and compoſed of perſons not acting from the ſame diſpoſition, cannot be thus modelled to incidents; and if not duly, regularly and effectually ſupported by the conſtituents, will, like a plant ſtinted in its grow, never yield that fruit which the richneſs of the ſoil gave reaſon to expect.

Mature reflection, on this ſubject, will induce two axioms.

That an eſtabliſhment ſhould be made independant of any other ſettlement, even where a ſubordinate only is in view. And

That all perſons concerned in the expedition ſhould depend entirely on its ſucceſs, without permiſſion of leaving their ſtations, unleſs the eſtabliſhment was withdrawn, on penalty of loſing their employment in the ſervice.

When men feel inconveniencies from which they ſee a poſſibility of removing, till they *are* removed, difficulties become impoſſibilities, and hardſhips are *not* to be born;

born; but, when there is no back-door open, the mind will riſe ſuperior to every thing.

Another difficulty to which every new eſtabliſhment of ours is liable, ariſes from our conſtitution, which is naturally jealous of power.

High powers are always to be avoided in a *free ſtate*, as dangerous to *publick liberty*; but this holds good only at home; and a limited power muſt ever be ineffectual, where there are ſo many oppoſite intereſts, and jarring diſpoſitions, as muſt be found in an eſtabliſhment ſuch as propoſed in this quarter. The diſtance from Europe precludes any joint conſideration of meaſures, and the rule of government, according to the prejudices and diſpoſitions of the people, muſt depend on minutiæ impoſſible to be explained. If there be not therefore an extenſive power lodged abroad, the *critical minute* muſt be loſt, and the cement of unanimity wanting; nor can any power, but a ſingle *executive* one, be adequate to ſo diffuſive and involved a ſphere of action.

It may be requiſite to exclude caſual chiefs from this authority, and in *all* to confine it to matters where ſecrecy is required,

quired, or to direct that in other caſes, it be exerted after a previous formal declaration. There are few exceſſes which a man of any prudence would commit, when they are canvaſſed before he executes them, and when his character is publickly ſtaked; and as few men would, without good foundation, openly expoſe a chief veſted with a diſpenſing power.

The capacity and diſpoſition of that chief are ſubjects too delicate to be touched on; Solon, Lycurgus, and above all the Peruvian Inca Mango-Capac, are the wonder of mankind; yet each of them had but one people to regulate; how much then muſt be required to conſolidate Chineſe, Idaan, &c. under one government? A total exemption from religious and national prejudices would be requiſite to ſecure the *utmoſt* ſucceſs; but where ſo much is wanted, the idea of *fitneſs* ariſes from compariſon.

ADVERTISEMENT.

MANY Indian names of *places* and *things* were unavoidable from the nature of the ſubject here treated of: It would extend this Eſſay to too great a length to explain the *latter*, and the former can only be done by charts on a *large* ſcale.

The expence of engraving theſe charts is too conſiderable for me to undertake; but if the Publick think it an *object* meriting their attention, I would have many of this quarter engraved, which, with the proper views of land, would, I ſuppoſe, coſt at leaſt 200 l. At the ſame time I muſt obſerve, that I ſhall not think a *ſubſcription* any *perſonal* favour.

The ſize is twenty-four inches by eighteen, within the margin. The following is a liſt of them.

Scale. Inch.	Miles.	
1	60	Borneo, Sooloo, and the adjoining iſlands.
1/16	1	North end of Borneo, Palawan, and Carang Bandar, from 4° to 12° north latitude.

Inch.	Miles.	
1/20	1	East side of Borneo from 4° north to 4° south latitude.
1/20	1	South coast of Borneo.
1/20	1	Carimata passage, &c. from 4° north to 4° south latitude.
1/10	1	North-west coast of Borneo.
1/10	1	North end of Borneo and adjoining islands. } These two are laid down by a chain of triangles.
1/10	1	Sooloo, Archiepelago. }
1/10	1	West coast of Palawan.
1/10	1	Cuyos.
1/10	1	North coast of Magindanao.

These six unite

1/20	1	The triangles by which the charts of Sooloo and the north end of Borneo are constructed.
2/10	1	Balabac to Unsang, comprehending Felicia, Malloodoo, and Paitan, two sheets.
4/10	1	Felicia and Malloodoo.
8/10	1	Balambangan and Malloodoo Sound.
16/10	1	Balambangan island.
8/20	1	Sooloo island.
4/10	1	Peelas islands.

These charts would be accompanied by an explanation of the *Data* on which they are formed.

If the Publick think this ſubject as intereſting as I do, their favourable reception of my endeavours may encourage me to communicate the obſervations I have made in my voyages amongſt the eaſtern iſlands; but, if this Eſſay is not favourably accepted, I ſhall not intrude myſelf upon them.

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE.

LONDON,
13th Feb. 1769.

N. B. The publication of the Collection of Voyages into the ſouth ſea has been delayed, in conſequence of advices I have received from Spain; by which there is reaſon to expect ſome other materials.

FINIS.

Inch.	Miles.	
1/20	1	East side of Borneo from 4° north to 4° south latitude.
1/20	1	South coast of Borneo.
1/20	1	Carimata passage, &c. from 4° north to 4° south latitude.
1/10	1	North-west coast of Borneo.
1/10	1	North end of Borneo and adjoining islands. } These two are laid down by a chain of triangles.
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LONDON,
13th Feb. 1769.

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FINIS.

If the Public think this subject as interesting as I do, their favourable reception of my endeavours may encourage me to communicate the observations I have made in my voyages among the eastern islands; but if this Essay is not favourably accepted, I shall not intrude myself upon them.

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE.

London,
15th Feb. 1769.

N. B. The publication of the Collection of Voyages to the South Sea has been delayed, in consequence of advices I have received from China, by which there is reason to expect some other materials.

FINIS.